

PREJUDICIAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORAL INTENTIONS TOWARD
HOMOSEXUAL PROVIDERS IN SERVICE RELATIONSHIPS

DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Although prejudice and discrimination against gay men and lesbians are well-documented phenomena, research investigating the nature of heterosexuals' prejudicial attitudes and the form of their discrimination against lesbians and gays is scarce. Similarly, the social identity perspective typically used to explain these phenomena as the results of gays' and lesbians' membership in a minority, low-status group fails to account for variation in the nature and function of heterosexuals' individual attitudes toward lesbian and gay people. This dissertation combined social identity theory with the functional perspective of attitudes, using this theoretical lens to explore heterosexuals' reactions to gay and lesbian service providers in order to shed light on both the nature of heterosexuals' attitudes toward gays and lesbians and the form of discriminatory behavioral intentions related to those attitudes. This program of research took the form of three studies: two laboratory-based role playing studies employing undergraduate business students, and an electronic survey completed by adult participants. Three different types of heterosexuals' reactions to a gay male and lesbian personal service provider were assessed: (a) heterosexuals' rating of the provider's performance, (b) their reported desire to engage the services of the provider, and (c) their impressions of the organization employing the service provider. Results from Study 1 revealed that, consistent with the augmentation effect, gay male service providers were rated more positively than heterosexual male service providers, although in Study 2 this effect was found only when the gay male interacted with a female client in a non-intimate service environment (as an insurance agent). The augmentation effect did not inflate performance appraisals when the gay male service provider interacted with a male customer in the same non-intimate context, nor did it affect appraisals of the gay male in a more intimate service context (a personal trainer) with either a female client. Performance ratings for a gay male interacting with a male customer in the intimate service context were significantly lower than those for a lesbian in the intimate service context. The augmentation effect did not apply to lesbian service providers.

While participants reported a desire to engage the services of competent providers, those high in heterosexism were generally unwilling to pursue a service relationship with a gay or lesbian service provider regardless of the provider's perceived competence. In particular, participants whose heterosexist attitudes served an ego-defensive function were most strongly opposed to service relationships with lesbians or gays.

Participants believed that a company providing a positive employment experience for a gay male had a diversity-friendly posture overall. This attribution was not made,

however, when evidence was presented that a company provided a good work environment for a lesbian worker. These perceptions of a diversity-friendly company were important because they sent a message that the company had generally fair procedures for treatment of all employees, and this message in turn prompted attributions that the company was a desirable place to work. Perceptions of procedural justice within the organization completely mediated the effect of diversity-friendly attributions on company desirability. Again, however, individuals whose heterosexist attitudes served an ego-defensive function were generally unwilling to rate the company as desirable even while acknowledging its commitment to diversity and fair procedures.

Additional findings include stronger heterosexist attitudes toward gay men than toward lesbians and the general desire of heterosexual men and women to avoid service relationships with gays and lesbians who share their gender. Service context, or the degree of physical intimacy expected in the service relationship, did not strongly influence heterosexuals' reported behavioral intentions to engage a gay or lesbian service provider.

These results provide support for the use of the functional perspective of attitudes to explain the linkage between prejudicial attitudes toward members of gay or lesbian out-groups and behavioral intentions to discriminate against members of those out-groups. To the extent that heterosexuals' interactions with lesbians and gays is viewed as psychologically threatening to a heterosexual in-group, heterosexist attitudes will function in an ego-defensive fashion and prompt behaviors that distance the heterosexual from contact with lesbians and gays. Future research should consider gay men and lesbians as separate and distinct social groups, and incorporate the functional perspective of attitudes into investigations of intergroup phenomena.

Dedicated to my father, Dr. Donald Lester Lumsden

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FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Business Administration

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SECTION 1
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Social scientists have devoted significant time and resources to the study of prejudice. Prejudicial attitudes are negative biases that some people hold toward others based on the others' membership in some social group or category. Acting on these biases constitutes discrimination, or negative behaviors toward members of disliked groups. Historically, most research has focused on prejudice and discrimination toward individuals from minority racial or ethnic groups. More recently, scientists have begun to explore less visible rationales for prejudice, such as attitudes toward people with non-Christian religions, stigmatized socioeconomic classes, or minority sexual orientations. The latter category is the subject of this dissertation.

In 1973, the American Psychological Association removed homosexuality from its list of diagnoses. In addition to signifying that homosexuality is a normal variant of sexual behavior, this decision legitimized the study of gay men and lesbians as unique social groups (Brill, 1998; Chesebro, 1997). Since that time, social scientists have regularly investigated heterosexuals' prejudice and discrimination toward gay men and lesbians using many of the same tools and methods developed to explore prejudice and discrimination on the bases of race and gender. Results from these investigations have been mixed, largely because researchers have found that theories of prejudice that explain

discrimination on the basis of race and gender lack similar predictive utility for sexual orientation discrimination. Consequently, social scientists know relatively little about heterosexuals' prejudice toward lesbians and gay men. Although many studies confirm that some heterosexuals harbor negative affective responses to gays and lesbians, and that prejudiced heterosexuals often seek to avoid contact with or even harm people known to have a same-sex orientation, the theoretical and practical nature of heterosexuals' attitudes is largely unexplained.

The purpose of this dissertation was to address four important questions in this arena. First, why do some heterosexuals express and act upon prejudicial attitudes toward gays and lesbians, while other heterosexuals do not? Second, what effect do prejudicial attitudes have on heterosexuals' treatment of gay men and lesbians in a business environment? Third, what effect do gay and lesbian employees have on heterosexual customers' perceptions of the employing organization? Finally, does the context in which heterosexuals encounter gay men and lesbians affect heterosexuals' reactions?

To this end, I conducted a series of three studies examining heterosexuals' responses to personal service providers with a same-sex orientation. In the first two investigations, both role-playing studies conducted in a laboratory with undergraduate business students, I measured three different types of responses. First, I examined the effect that service providers' same-sex orientations had on heterosexual observers' perceptions of their performances. Second, I investigated heterosexuals' willingness to engage the services of gay and lesbian service providers, taking both service context and gender of the provider/customer dyad into account. Finally, I studied heterosexuals'

perceptions of companies employing gay or lesbian service providers, specifically measuring heterosexuals' beliefs about the companies' (a) commitments to diversity, (b) utilization of fair human resource management procedures, and (c) desirability as a potential employer. In the third study, an online survey with adult respondents, I further explored heterosexuals' willingness to engage a gay or lesbian service provider by expanding the number of service contexts presented to incorporate both personal and impersonal types of interaction and services provided to children.

Given the lack of prior research on these topics, my studies should be viewed as preliminary investigations. I did not begin this project anticipating the completion of three studies, nor do I believe that these research questions are fully answered by the work presented in this dissertation. Instead, the studies built upon one another as the weaknesses and limitations of each became apparent. Study 2 was an attempt to explore the boundary conditions for results found in Study 1, and to investigate the potential explanatory power of the functional perspective of attitudes. Study 3 explored these questions using a new population.

To begin this document, Chapter 2 presents a discussion of social identity theory and the functional perspective of attitudes, the two theoretical perspective that drove this research. Section 2 (Chapters 3-6) reports on the first laboratory study, a role-playing investigation in which I examined heterosexual undergraduate college students' reactions to a gay male insurance agent. Section 3 (Chapters 7-10) reports findings from a second laboratory investigation. This too was a role-playing study wherein heterosexual undergraduate college students' reactions to gay male and lesbian insurance agents and personal athletic trainers were examined. Section 4 (Chapters 11-14) reports findings

from the third study, an electronic survey of an adult population. Here, I examined heterosexual adults' reactions to service relationships with gay men and lesbians in a wide variety of service contexts. I conclude in Section 5 (Chapters 15-17) with a discussion of the results and implications of this body of work.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter begins with a brief review of the current state of knowledge regarding prejudice and discrimination toward lesbians and gays. I then examine the explanations for these phenomena offered by social identity theory and the functional perspective of attitudes, focusing particular attention on the intersection between the two that is the theoretical cornerstone of this dissertation. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the research questions suggested by this perspective.

Heterosexuals' negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians have been given a number of different names. In 1973, Weinberg coined the phrase homophobia to describe the dread of being in close quarters with homosexuals. Although this term was intended to capture the personal discomfort and fear, often at phobic levels, that some heterosexuals feel when associating with gay men and lesbians (Herek, 1984), it is often used to describe all negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians (Logan, 1996; Matchinsky & Iverson, 1996; White, 1999). Recognizing that not all prejudice toward gays and lesbians is aptly described as "homophobia," researchers have proposed other terms such as heterosexism (Livingston, 1996; Simoni, 1996); heterosexual bias (Logan, 1996), homonegativity (Morrison, Parriag & Morrison, 1999) and sexual prejudice (Herek, 2000), but to date no single descriptive term has been accepted by a majority of

researchers. For this project, I will use the terms heterosexism and sexual prejudice interchangeably, since they are arguably the most common in the literature (Herek, 2000; Simoni, 1996).

Heterosexism, and the discrimination it engenders, are well-documented in the United States. Survey research indicates that nine out of ten gay men and lesbians are victims of verbal abuse or threats, and more than one in five has been physically assaulted because of sexual orientation (Elliott, 2000). In fact, gays and lesbians are more likely to be victims of hate crimes in the United States than are members of any other social groups (Nelson & Krieger, 1997).

One reason for the continued persecution of gay men and lesbians in the United States is that discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is legal in most places. Ten states, the District of Columbia, and a number of cities and counties have passed ordinances banning sexual orientation discrimination in housing, employment, and other forums, yet it is estimated that only one-fifth of gay Americans live in areas that afford this protection (Wald, Button & Rienzo, 1996). Moreover, public opinion polls from 1973 to 1997 confirmed that a majority of the American public disapproves of homosexuality and believes that sexual relations between members of the same gender are immoral (Yang, 1997).

This heterosexism prompts prejudiced heterosexuals to distance themselves from gay men and lesbians both physically and emotionally. Survey research (Larsen, Reed & Hoffman, 1980; Monteith, Devine, & Zuwerink, 1993) has revealed that individuals who have highly prejudicial attitudes toward gays and lesbians report significant behavioral intentions to avoid contact with them, even while acknowledging that such actions are not

socially desirable. Moreover, in their series of four survey studies, Haddock and Zanna (1998) found that individuals with strong sexual prejudice are likely to engage in discriminatory behavior toward gays and lesbians, largely because they believe that gays and lesbians do not share their personal values (see also Pilkington & Lydon, 1997). In the same vein, Morin and Garfinkle's (1978) laboratory studies found that heterosexuals sought more social distance and personal distance from a gay man, and that they treated gays negatively during the course of an experiment. Similarly, Kite and Deaux's laboratory study (1986) found less information-seeking and self-presentation among heterosexual males who were aware of a male confederate's homosexuality. Both male and female research participants in other laboratory-based investigations also have been seen to speak more rapidly to confederates believed to be gay (Cuenot & Fugita, 1982), to label gay men as less preferred partners in future experiments (Karr, 1978), and to offer less help to an individual wearing a pro-gay t-shirt than to one with a plain t-shirt (Gray, Russell & Blockley, 1991).

With the exception of the studies cited above, research focusing on heterosexual perpetrators of discrimination toward gays and lesbians has been largely anecdotal, descriptive, and atheoretical (Herek, 1984). The majority of studies investigating heterosexism have been concerned with the content of prejudicial attitudes, rather than whether or how they contribute to discriminatory behavior toward gays and lesbians (Plasek & Allard, 1984). Haddock and Zanna (1998) noted in their review of the literature that most published studies focused on identifying the content and strength of stereotypes that heterosexuals endorsed about gays and lesbians. As these researchers concluded, "In order to understand attitudes toward gay men and lesbians more

effectively, one must assess more than simply the evaluative implications of individuals' stereotypic beliefs" (Haddock & Zanna, 1998, p. 91). However, most investigations of sexual prejudice fail to do more than determine whether respondents are familiar with and/or endorse stereotypes about gay men and lesbians (Haddock, Zanna & Esses, 1992).

Although relatively little research has examined the nature and effects of discrimination toward gay men and lesbians in the workplace (Ragins & Cornwell, 1999), reports of workplace discrimination against them are particularly virulent. Gay and lesbian employees constitute 4-17% of the American workforce (Gonsiorek & Weinrich, 1991), and surveys reveal that more than two-thirds of those who disclosed their sexual orientations at work experienced discrimination on the job (Croteau, 1996; Croteau & Von Destinon, 1994; Crow, Fok, & Hartman, 1995; Welch, 1996), sometimes including termination of employment (Croteau, 1996). Results from a few qualitative studies suggest that discrimination has a harmful effect on the work attitudes and career trajectories of gay men and lesbians (Friskopp & Silverstein, 1996; Hall, 1986) and also that it negatively affects their productivity at work (Powers, 1986; Stangor, Carr & Kiang, 1998). Similarly, other studies have documented the stress and resultant health hazards gay people experience as a result of the discrimination they encounter both on and off the job (e.g., Bosanko, 1995; O'Hanlan, Robertson, Cabaj, Schatz & Nemrow, 1996). Where they exist, company policies prohibiting discrimination against gays and lesbians have improved their treatment in the workplace (Pratt, 1998; Ragins & Cornwell, 2000). Still, discrimination against employees who are gay or lesbian (or who are merely perceived to be gay or lesbian) is legal in most workplaces (Badgett, 1996; Button, Rienzo, & Wald, 1997; Elliott, 2000; Kirby, 2000), and it continues unabated there.

However, attempts to spotlight the consequences of this discrimination more systematically have met with mixed results. For example, although survey-based studies revealed that gay male workers earned significantly less compensation than equally-situated heterosexual male counterparts, this finding was not replicated for lesbian workers (Badgett, 1995; Ellis & Riggle, 1996). Moreover, although a laboratory study indicated that gay men may be at risk for discrimination during the hiring process (Crow et al., 1995), this finding has not been examined outside of the laboratory.

Like general research on heterosexism, most workplace-related studies on this topic are primarily descriptive, providing little theoretical insight into the nature of this prejudice or the cognitive processes through which it results in discrimination against lesbians and gays. In the next sections of this chapter I will focus on those few studies, both work-related and non-work-related, in which researchers have expressly communicated a theoretical explanation for their findings. Generally, this literature can be divided into two categories. First, researchers have used the lens of social identity theory to explain sexual prejudice in terms of gays' and lesbians' minority group status. Second, social scientists have analyzed heterosexism in terms of the functions that these negative attitudes play in heterosexuals' minds. I examine findings and implications of each of these perspectives in the following sections. After these discussions, I advance my own proposal for combining these two perspectives to provide a richer understanding of sexual prejudice.

Social Identity Theory

I will begin this section with a general overview of the core tenets and principles of social identity theory. Then, I will discuss the components of the theory most relevant

to heterosexism, highlighting the cognitive processes suggested by the theory that would result in discriminatory behavior toward gay men and lesbians. I will next examine literature in which social identity theory has been used to explain why two groups of heterosexuals—conservative religious believers and strong gender role adherents—are among those most likely to discriminate against lesbians and gays. I conclude this section with a discussion of the strengths and limitations of this perspective relative to our understanding of sexual prejudice.

Social identity theory is currently the dominant paradigm in investigations of human social interaction (Sidanius, Levin, Rabinowitz & Federico, 1999). Tajfel (1978, p. 63) defined social identity as identification of the self as member of a social group, “together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership.” According to this perspective, personal identity has two components: personal, derived from idiosyncratic features that “usually denote specific aspects of the individual”, and social, derived from salient group memberships, or “self-descriptions deriving from membership in social categories” (Hogg & Abrams 1988, p. 25). Social identity, then, is a perception of oneness with a group of similar persons known as an “in-group” (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) that is coupled with positive perceptions of the group and valued attachment to it (Turner & Giles, 1981).

Social identification leads to activities that are congruent with the in-group’s shared identity, such as support for institutions that embody the identity (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). When group membership is particularly salient, people respond to others in terms of their membership (or lack thereof) in that group, preferring interactions with those who share the membership over those who do not (the “out-group;” Brewer, von

Hippel & Gooden, 1999). In this way, people's perceptions of and responses to their social reality are determined by the group memberships (such as gender, ethnicity, or sexual orientation) they have chosen as most salient for social identity (Alderfer, 1987). Similarly, insofar as people wish to protect a positive social identity, they may seek to maximize the distinctiveness between the in-group and the out-group in order to perceive the out-group as less attractive and to enhance perceptions of the in-group (Brewer, 1991; Brewer & Brown, 1998; Kramer, 1991).

In the social identity theory framework, heterosexism is explained as a reaction to gay men and lesbians as out-group members. However, the problem with this perspective as an explanation for discrimination against gay men and lesbians is that not all heterosexuals view gays and lesbians as threatening out-group members. Only those who categorize themselves into in-groups that are particularly threatened by the idea of same-sex orientations are likely to react to gay and lesbian out-group members in a discriminatory way. These differences in the strength of heterosexuals' in-group affiliations are a result of two cognitive components of in-group membership: first, the strength of heterosexuals' self-categorization within the heterosexual in-group, and second, the nature of the threat that gay men and lesbians are thought to provide to that in-group. I will discuss each of these in turn below.

Self-categorization, or the process by which people define their self-concept in terms of their membership in various social groups (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987), is the psychological transition between the individual and the collective self. It is the process of focusing or concentrating on a single aspect of the self, such that this aspect moves into the psychological foreground and other (unrelated) self-aspects

recede (Simon, 1999). Using this lens, sexual prejudice is explained as follows: individuals who prioritize aspects of their identity by self-categorizing into groups that are threatened by homosexuality are more likely to react negatively to members of gay and lesbian out-groups.

Heterosexuals with strong self-categorizations in in-groups that are threatened by gay men and lesbians are likely to have relatively strong heterosexist attitudes, largely because the presence of a gay man or lesbian makes the heterosexuals' in-group ties more salient. The process of recognizing and acting upon in-group/out-group distinctions, such as those between heterosexuals and homosexuals, has two components. The first is situational: different aspects of a person's self-concept may become salient in response to the distribution of characteristics of others who are present in the situation, such that identity features that are distinctive in a particular setting are more likely to become salient (Markus & Cross, 1990; McGuire, 1984). Since sexual orientation is not usually a visible component of one's identity, it is likely to become salient only when heterosexuals are faced with strong evidence of another person's same-sex orientation. This may occur when a gay male or lesbian verbally or nonverbally discloses his or her sexual orientation ("comes out"), or when any person exhibits obvious cross-gendered tendencies thought to typify homosexuality (e.g., a man uses feminine hand gestures, or a woman wears short hair and masculine clothing).

However, situational cues—such as the noted presence of an out-group member—are not in themselves sufficient to prompt intergroup discrimination. The second component of the process is the perception that an acknowledged out-group member is somehow threatening to the in-group. So, only heterosexuals who identify with an in-

group that they believe needs to be protected or defended against gays and lesbians are likely to react negatively toward a gay male or lesbian (Foster, 1999). Because these individuals attach strong personal importance and valence to a particular self-aspect related to heterosexuality, they are more likely than other heterosexuals to both self-categorize on the basis of this aspect and react to out-group members who differ on that basis (Finlay & Lyons, 2000; Turner et al., 1987). This process is presented graphically in Figure 1.

Individuals whose ties to the heterosexual in-group are particularly salient are more likely than other heterosexuals to be cognizant of the gay men and lesbians as an out-group. When the presence of a gay or lesbian out-group member is particularly salient, self-categorization into the in-group is made on the basis of the self as a traditional/sexual being. However, only heterosexuals who view gay men and lesbians as a threat to their in-group's superiority are likely to engage in discrimination toward lesbians and gays. If gay men and lesbians directly threaten central tenets of the belief systems of the in-groups, or pose a threat to the groups' validity, heterosexuals in these in-groups are most likely to react with discriminatory behaviors when confronted with gay men and lesbians. Such rejection of gay and lesbian out-group members reaffirms membership in the in-group and asserts the superiority of the in-group. This suggests that heterosexuals who choose to express their sexual prejudice do so because they perceive gay men and lesbians as such a threat to their in-group that they find it necessary to denigrate these out-group members to affirm the superiority of their in-group. It follows, then, that we should be able to predict who will discriminate against gays and lesbians by

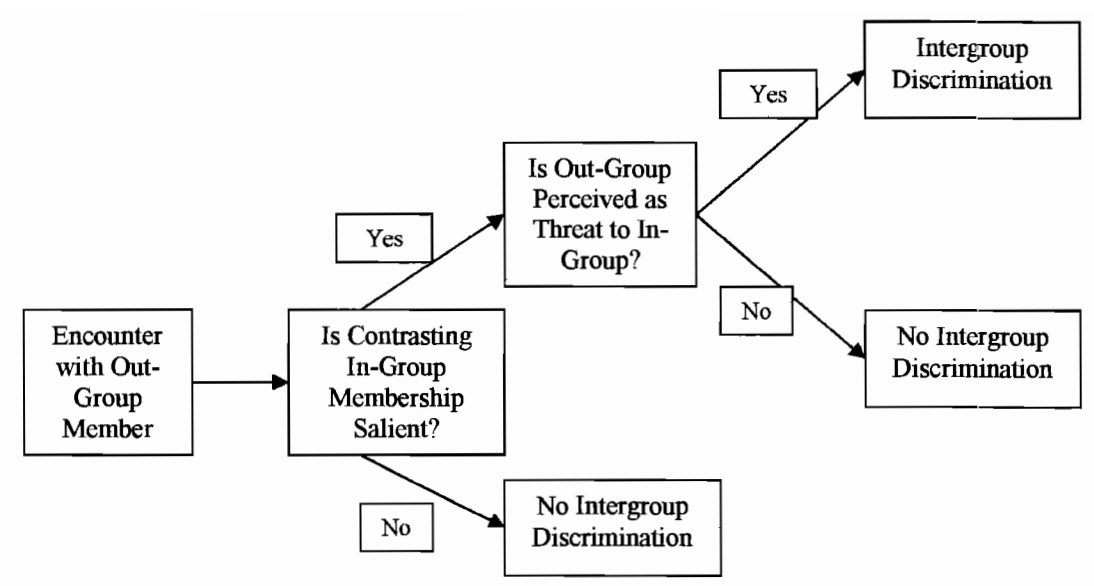


Figure 1: Processes of Intergroup Discrimination Suggested by Social Identity Theory

identifying those in-groups whose norms are most pointedly threatened by the presence of a gay man or a lesbian.

A review of the literature on sexual prejudice and discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation identifies two in-groups that meet this criteria, with research confirming their negative reactions to lesbians and gays in a variety of contexts. One group is formed on the basis of individual differences, while the other is maintained by a strong shared belief system that guides the attitudes and behaviors of members. First, heterosexuals with strong traditional gender role identifications view their gender identities as particularly salient, and feel threatened by other people (such as gay men and lesbians) who do not conform to traditionally accepted gender role behaviors. Second, heterosexuals with strong ties to conservative religious belief structures perceive gay men and lesbians as a threat because homosexual behavior is perceived as violating the Biblical tenets that are central to conservative religious believers' faiths. I will discuss the research supporting each of these contentions and the implications of them in the following sections.

Gender Role Identity In-Groups

Gender is a central determinant of a person's identity and guides many facets of social relationships (Lenney, 1991). Yet, research demonstrates that gender roles, and the associated normative expectations about such social issues as division of labor and rules governing social interaction, are more heavily embraced and relied upon to determine identity by some individuals than by others (Biller, 1968; Cramer & Carter, 1978; Gilbert, 1985). Rejection of lesbians and gays is more dramatic in both men and women who strongly identify with their traditional gender roles, largely because people's

attitudes about gender tend to be interrelated. People who adhere to strong traditional gender roles expect others' gender-relevant characteristics, such as sexual orientation, to be coherent. These individuals tend to react negatively when their expectations are not met, causing them to evaluate non-traditional sexual orientations, such as homosexuality, negatively (Kite & Whitley, 1998; Krulewitz & Nash, 1980). Considerable research confirms that people who adhere strongly to traditional gender role norms generally are intolerant of homosexuality (Harry, 1995; Heaven & Oxman, 1999; Jome & Tokar, 1998; Krulewitz & Nash, 1980; MacDonald, Huggins, Young, & Swanson, 1973; Newman, 1989; Weinberger & Millham, 1979; Whitley, 1987, 1999).

Social identity theory explains that the presence of a lesbian or gay man is more of a threat to personal identity for heterosexuals whose gender role identification is particularly salient (Krulewitz & Nash, 1980; MacDonald et al., 1973). MacDonald and colleagues (MacDonald & Games, 1974; MacDonald et al., 1973) explain that these individuals' rejection of gay men and lesbians reduces what they term "sex role confusion," or the threat to their gender identity they experience when confronted by people whose behavior is incongruent with traditional sex role norms. Consequently, a heterosexual who identifies strongly with his/her gender role is more likely to react negatively toward a homosexual out-group member than is another heterosexual with weaker gender role identification. Heterosexuals whose self-categorization into traditional gender roles is particularly strong feel a need to protect their in-group identity from gay men and lesbians, and so are more likely to discriminate against them.

Conservative Religious In-Groups

Similar to those who embrace a traditional gender role orientation, heterosexuals whose belief structures embrace the tenets of a traditional conservative religious perspective are also likely to view gay and lesbian out-group members negatively. Research suggests that people with a strong conservative religious orientation are typically opposed to homosexuality on religious/biblical grounds (Hunter, 1991). Consistent with this opposition, individuals with a fundamentalist Christian religious orientation report more prejudicial attitudes toward gays and lesbians than do less conservative or non-religious people (Kirkpatrick, 1993; McFarland, 1989). Numerous studies have demonstrated that membership in a traditionally conservative religion is associated with negative attitudes toward lesbians and gays (Agnew, Thompson, Smith, Gramzow, & Currey, 1993; Herek, 1994; Herek & Capitanio, 1995), as is frequent attendance at religious services affiliated with conservative religions (Fisher, Derison, Polley, Cadman & Johnston, 1994; Seltzer, 1992).

In the Judeo-Christian belief system, the view that homosexual behavior is sinful may be grounded in generally negative attitudes toward all sexual behavior that takes place outside the realm of heterosexual marriage (Churchill, 1967). However, these believers' attitudes toward homosexuality are traditionally much more negative than their reactions to other sexual "offenders," such as men and women who engage in premarital sex (MacDonald et al., 1973). In fact, conservative religious groups' mobilization to fight the initiation of gay civil rights legislation in locations across the United States is indicative of the strongly held beliefs against gay and lesbian sexual behaviors that permeate this belief structure (for a review, see Wiethoff, in press).

However, the positive relationship between religiosity and prejudice toward gay men and lesbians is not limited to churchgoers in the Judeo-Christian religions.

Hunsberger (1996) found similar negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians in the Muslim and Hindu faiths. So, rather than being related to specific religious tenets or beliefs, the tendency for conservative believers to reject homosexuality may be a reflection of the authoritarian tendencies associated with religious fundamentalism generally (Hunsberger, Alisat, Pancer & Pratt, 1996), making conservative religion in-group members highly likely to view any deviation from the status quo as being wrong.

Altman (1971) contends that conservative Judeo-Christian churches traditionally legitimize oppression against gays and lesbians primarily because of the threat that homosexuality poses to the mores of a society organized around the traditional nuclear family and differentiated social gender roles. For those who are closely aligned with a religion that explicitly forbids homosexuality, the rejection of gay men and lesbians is viewed as a way to affirm allegiance to the religious in-group by expressing the group's values (Agnew et al., 1993; Kirkpatrick, 1993; McFarland, 1989). Individuals with strong conservative religious beliefs tend to embrace political and social positions that confirm the superiority of their belief system as a foundation for social mores (Rubinstein, 1995). Consequently, the presence of groups such as gay men and lesbians that directly challenge accepted societal norms are likely to be an intensely salient out-group for conservative believers (Paloutzian & Kirkpatrick, 1995; Hunsberger, 1995; Whitley, 1999; Wylie & Forest, 1992). Further, because members of these groups believe that their in-group needs to be protected from gay men and lesbians, they are likely to react defensively when encountering a gay person.

In summary, social identity theory suggests that heterosexuals who construct their identity in ways that are wedded to traditional gender roles and social mores and/or those who are affiliated with a conservative religious belief system are likely to respond negatively to gay men and lesbians on the basis of the intergroup differences they perceive between themselves and gay men and lesbians. For these people, in-group/out-group distinctions on the basis of sexual orientation are highly salient, and gay men and lesbians are perceived as threatening to the core values of their in-groups. Consequently, according to social identity theory, they will be more likely to discriminate against gay men and lesbians than will other heterosexuals with different primary in-group ties.

The Functional Perspective of Attitudes

The functional perspective of attitudes suggests that members of the two previously discussed in-groups have attitudes that differ from those of other heterosexuals who are not affiliated with these groups. Simply put, the functional perspective suggests that the prejudicial attitudes of these in-group members serve a different psychological function than do attitudes toward gays and lesbians held by other heterosexuals. These different functions explain why these particular in-group members have particularly strong prejudice against lesbians and gays.

In this section, I will first present a brief overview of the functional perspective of attitudes. I follow this with a review of the literature that directly examined heterosexuals' reactions to gay men and lesbians on the basis of the functions that heterosexuals' attitudes served. Next, I explain how combining the functional perspective of attitudes with social identity theory provides a richer explanation of

heterosexism than that contained in either theoretical perspective alone. I conclude with a discussion of the research questions suggested by this unique theoretical lens.

Overview of the Functional Perspective

One of the most far-reaching questions about attitudes is why people hold them. This realm of inquiry is central to the functional approach to attitudes. In the 1950s and 1960s, Katz and his colleagues at the University of Michigan explored the position that people have and express particular attitudes because of the psychological benefits they derive from them, or more specifically, how the attitudes enable people to adapt to their social environment (Katz, 1960, 1968; Katz & Stotland, 1959; Sarnoff & Katz, 1954). These scientists worked deductively, analyzing general psychological theories to learn about the specific underlying values and goals these theories assumed. They postulated that attitudes served two major types of functions: a sense-making function, which allowed people to interpret and make sense of stimuli, and an instrumental function, which prompted people's desire to gain rewards and avoid punishment. Katz (1960) identified two key instrumental functions: (a) the ego-defensive function, allowing people to cope with anxiety generated by psychological conflict, and (b) the value-expressive function, whereby people can express values important to their self-concepts.

As Eagly and Chaiken (1998) noted in their extensive review of the attitude function literature, this perspective is an intuitively appealing way to explore the nature of prejudicial attitudes. Functional analyses are concerned with the reasons, purposes, needs, and goals of attitudes, and the plans and motives that both underlie and generate psychological phenomena (Snyder, 1993). Consequently, taking a functional perspective

on prejudicial attitudes may help us understand why some people choose to overcome them by relying on chronic egalitarian goals whereas others do not or cannot.

The functional approach received little empirical testing in the decades following its introduction, largely because early researchers had significant difficulty operationalizing them (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998). Katz and his colleagues (Katz, Sarnoff & McClintock, 1956) initially sought to use the perspective to identify people for whom racial and ethnic prejudice served an ego-defensive function, but this research met with mixed success (for a review, see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Specifically, early research generated by this perspective had problems separating attitudes and their functions. For example, researchers investigating the function of prejudicial attitudes had difficulty getting study participants to describe their attitudes toward people of other races in terms that did not reflect the attitude's function (e.g., "They just make me uncomfortable" correlated very highly with the ego-defensive function, Kiesler, Collins, & Miller, 1969, pp. 35-36). Consequently, a successful measurement methodology was not fully developed.

Snyder (1974) returned researchers' attention to the functional perspective by using personality measures to differentiate between people for whom attitudes served various functions. This work focused on the importance of self-monitoring as a personality variable (Snyder & DeBono, 1985). Similarly, Prentice (1987) sought to determine the relationship between how people viewed their material possessions and the functions of their attitudes toward money, and Han and Shavitt (1994) examined differences in attitude functions with subjects on both ends of the individualism-collectivism spectrum.

Prejudice and the Functional Perspective

The functional approach to attitudes informs our understanding of when and how people engage in stereotyping and prejudice toward out-group members. The answer lies with the function that prejudicial attitudes and stereotypes serve in each individual's psyche. Katz (1960) hypothesized that attitudes that serve an ego-defensive function help protect people from psychological distress associated with internal conflicts and/or the stress and feelings of threat. He contended that an ego-defensive attitude "protects his [or her] ego from his own unacceptable impulses and from the knowledge of threatening forces from without, and...reduces his [or her] anxieties created by such problems" (1960, p. 172). Similarly, attitudes that serve a value-expressive function allow people to express the beliefs and values that are centrally important to them, "establishing his [or her] self-identity and confirming his notion of the sort of person he sees himself [or herself] to be" (Katz, 1960, p. 173).

Applying these functions to the study of sexual prejudice, Herek (1986) found that heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gays serve three different functions consistent with Katz's categories. First, he noted that attitudes about gays and lesbians are based on descriptions of past specific experiences that provide the formulation for cognitive schema associated with current attitudes (i.e., a experiential-schematic function). Second, he identified attitudes related to personal anxieties and insecurities associated with gender or sexuality that are exacerbated by thinking about homosexuality (i.e., a defensive function). Finally, he acknowledged attitudes toward lesbians and gay men based on personal values that are important to individuals' self-concepts and relations with others (i.e., a self-expressive function).

Past research on the function of attitudes toward gays and lesbians supports this perspective. Working in this tradition, Herek (1986) noted that heterosexist attitudes have two distinct functions defined by the amount of benefit an individual perceives to be associated with expressing that attitude. Benefit may be in the form of confirmation of core components of identity or perceptions that alliances with significant others will be enhanced through expression. Herek (1986, p. 105) explains that the mere expression of the attitude is a means to an end, because it "provides a vehicle for securing social support, for increasing self-esteem, or for reducing anxiety". This type of heterosexist attitude stems from personal beliefs and needs and is central to personal identity.

On the other hand, attitudes that do not have particular importance to an individual, usually those that serve an experiential/schematic function, are viewed as "nonfunctional" in Herek's schema. These attitudes are primarily based on past experiences, and serve a sense-making function. Because these attitudes have relatively little effect on a person's self-interest, they are not central to personal identity. As such, they are more susceptible to attitude change efforts and less likely to dictate behavioral intentions toward the attitude target (Herek, 1986; Katz, 1960). An example of these kinds of attitudes would be endorsement of stereotypes about gays and lesbians that are relatively neutral, such as, "Gay men are more socially liberal than straight men".

Based on Katz's (1960) schema, Herek (1987) developed an instrument to assess various functions that heterosexist attitudes play in individual psyches. These functions depend on whether positive and negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians are rooted in past experiences with them (experiential-schematic function), feelings of defensiveness or discomfort about homosexuality (defensive function) or important personal values

(self-expressive function). Herek's analysis resulted in the Attitude Function Inventory (AFI). He maintains that particular personality traits and identity in-groups are affiliated with attitudes toward gays and lesbians contained in each functional category, and subsequent research has supported this contention (e.g., Wyman & Snyder, 1997).

Heterosexist attitudes that support the experiential-schematic function are not likely to result in prejudicial thoughts or discriminatory behaviors toward lesbians and gays, largely because these attitudes are subordinate to other personal identity goals such as the desire to be fair and unprejudiced. This is consistent with recent research suggesting that individuals' perceptions of moral obligations against discrimination exert significant influence over their behavior (Monteith, Deneen & Tooman, 1996). If a heterosexual's ties to traditional gender role or conservative religious in-groups are not particularly salient, or if gay men and lesbians are not perceived as a threat to the in-group, discrimination is not likely to occur. Simply put, not everyone's self-esteem is enhanced by stereotypic and prejudicial thoughts. As researchers have sought to identify "chronic" identities, or those that are readily accessible because of their importance or centrality in an individual's self-image (Higgins & King, 1980), many have documented the existence of internalized personal standards that forbid prejudicial or stereotypic thought. Steele, Spencer and Lynch (1993, p. 885) argued that some people seek to maintain "an image of self-integrity" that prevents them from denigrating others, particularly those who are perceived as socially disadvantaged. In a sense, these individuals can be seen as belonging to an in-group that values non-discrimination. Schwartz (1977) noted that personal norms, or self-expectations for standards for conduct, involve feelings of personal moral obligation and stem from internalized values.

Similarly, Higgins (1989) contended that personal standards for how one ought to respond carry a sense of duty or obligation, such that the greater the feelings of obligation, the more consistent one's behavior will be with those norms or standards (Monteith et al., 1996). Research has confirmed that people low in prejudice often fail to discriminate against stigmatized out-group members because they perceive a moral obligation not to discriminate (Monteith & Walters, 1995), and this moral code is centrally important to their self-concepts (Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink & Rlliott, 1991; Monteith, 1993; Monteith et al., 1993).

Moskowitz and his colleagues (Moskowitz et al., 1999; Moskowitz, Salomon & Taylor, 2000) refer to this moral in-group code as one of "chronic egalitarian goals." They contend that "people conceive of aspects of the self in terms of goals" (Moskowitz et al., 1999, p. 169). When people perceive themselves as possessing certain attributes, such as being smart or fair, they also set goals related to acting and/or becoming smarter or fairer (Gollwitzer & Kirchhof, 1998). Failing to act in a manner consistent with these goals leads to a feeling of incompleteness, a negative internal state. Consequently, people who have a relatively strong commitment to treating others fairly set goals (often subconsciously) for themselves that prompt them to respond to out-group members in an egalitarian fashion, despite any negative affect toward those out-group members they may possess.

Petty, Fleming, and White (1999) directly examined the effect of these egalitarian beliefs on expressions of sexual prejudice. In their laboratory study, heterosexual participants evaluated high-quality arguments from a gay male more positively than identical arguments from heterosexuals, even when the topic presented had nothing to do

with sexual orientation. They determined that participants spent more time mentally processing information from gay men than from heterosexual men, and that people who reported the least amount of sexual prejudice engaged in the most processing behavior. These researchers suggested that this behavior was prompted by two egalitarian “watchdog” roles: one monitoring the participants’ own possible prejudice, and the other watching out for the prejudicial reactions of others.

This body of work suggests that merely recognizing one’s membership in a heterosexual in-group and a gay’s or lesbian’s membership in an out-group is insufficient to prompt discrimination. This is particularly true when individuals self-categorize into in-groups that prize non-discriminatory behaviors and responses. However, despite the prevalence of this chronic egalitarian norm in American society, discrimination against gay men and lesbians continues to be present, particularly among individuals strongly aligned with traditional gender roles or conservative religious in-groups. As the preceding summary of research suggests, these differences are likely rooted in the functions that heterosexist attitudes serve. When attitudes function as a means to express personal values or as a defense of one’s in-group against threatening out-group members, prejudicial thought and discriminatory behaviors are likely to occur. On the other hand, when attitudes serve a sense-making function that is not linked to in-group affiliations, chronic egalitarian goals are likely to exert more control over thoughts and behaviors than are those heterosexist attitudes. Consequently, prejudice and discrimination are less likely to occur in this instance. This process is presented in Figure 2.

The juxtaposition of the functional perspective with social identity theory is not inconsistent with the tenets of social identity theory. Tajfel (1982, p. 499) noted that

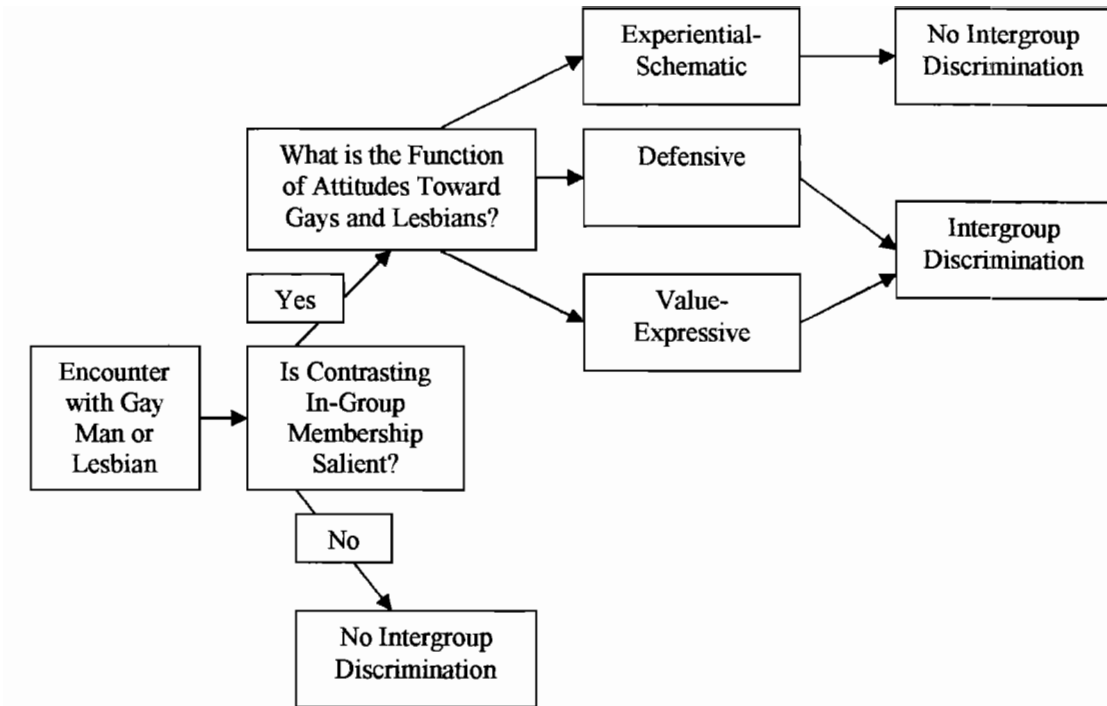


Figure 2: The Functional Perspective of Attitudes and Social Identity Theory

theories regarding the functioning of social categorization, social identity, and social comparison in intergroup relations should be viewed as “complementary” to views emphasizing the relative importance of attitudes and conflicts of interests, rather than “aiming to be a substitute for those views” (see also Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Indeed, Turner (1982, p. 36) has acknowledged the need to clarify “the conditions under which a social identification is ‘switched on’ to become a salient basis for cognition and behavior.” The functional perspective may help fill this gap. By focusing on the function performed by attitudes toward both in-groups and out-groups, we may be able to determine when group membership will be salient and, consequently, when it will be acted upon in the form of discrimination against out-group members. Tajfel (1982) noted that a cognitive perspective likely cannot provide a sufficient explanation for the relative intensity of group affiliation, suggesting that a consideration of the affective or other functional components of attitudes toward group membership is a worthy forum for investigation. As Eagly and Chaiken (1998, p. 305) concluded, “another useful direction for exploring attitudes’ defensive function would enlarge the concept of defense to include defense of an extended self that encompasses one’s societal in-group. Such a perspective would encompass a key principle of social identity theory.”

Suggested Research Questions

Most of the existing research on sexual prejudice has examined the content of prejudicial attitudes, rather than the tendency to act upon those attitudes in a discriminatory way. Moreover, relatively little research has directly tested the predictive utility of social identity theory to explain heterosexuals’ discriminatory behavior toward gay men and lesbians. Consequently, the first question to be addressed is a very

straightforward one: Does social identity theory explain heterosexuals' reactions to gays and lesbians? Social identity theory suggests that heterosexuals with strong ties to traditional gender roles and conservative religious belief systems are likely to react more negatively to gays and lesbians than are other heterosexuals without these in-group ties. If the theory is sufficient to explain intergroup relations between heterosexuals and lesbians/gays, then it should be relatively easy to identify heterosexuals who will act on heterosexual attitudes and those who will not on the basis of their reported in-group memberships. My first and second studies, reported in Chapters 2 and 3, directly explore this question.

Second, are the functions of heterosexual attitudes related to particular in-group affiliations? To date, no studies have directly focused on the relationship between heterosexism and the functions of in-group related prejudicial attitudes. In Studies 2 and 3, I directly examine both relationships between gender role and conservative religious in-group identifications and the defensive and value-expressive attitude functions identified by Herek (1986). Additionally, I test the predictive utility of the functional perspective of attitudes by determining whether attitudes that serve these functions are more likely to prompt reports of anticipated discriminatory behavior toward lesbians and gays.

Third, what is the effect of context on intergroup interactions? Most investigations of social identity theory and the functional perspective of attitudes have taken place within a relatively benign context, where contact between in-group and out-group members was non-physical and not expected to continue beyond the laboratory setting. However, it is likely that heterosexuals' in-group ties would be made more

salient, their perception of out-group threat more pronounced, and their value-expressive and defensive motivations primed, if either of these contact provisions were modified. Again, my second and third studies, reported in Chapters 3 and 4, explore this issue.

Fourth, very few studies have examined differences in heterosexuals' reactions to each of gay men and lesbians. Are these two out-groups perceived as fundamentally similar, or do heterosexuals respond to them in distinctly different ways? Again, my second and third studies directly examine this question.

At this juncture, the potential theoretical contribution of this dissertation is fourfold. First, these studies directly test tenets of social identity theory by exploring the importance of salient in-group ties vis-à-vis a general societal norm against the expression of prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behaviors. Second, I shed light on the reasons that intergroup prejudice and discrimination occur by incorporating the functional perspective of attitudes into this investigation. Third, there are very few studies that directly examine intergroup phenomena between heterosexuals and gay men/lesbians. As such, this dissertation expands our understanding of social identity theory by testing its predictions with a relatively unexplored in-group/out-group distinction. Finally, by exploring the effect of the context of in-group/out-group interactions, these studies can expand our understanding of the role of threat in intergroup relations.

This chapter began with a discussion of the nature of sexual prejudice, and reviewed studies exploring the nature, antecedents, and consequences of heterosexist attitudes. I then presented an overview of the most commonly-touted theory that explains the phenomenon of heterosexism: social identity theory. In this context, I identified two

in-group ties (traditional gender roles and conservative religious beliefs) that have traditionally been associated with sexual prejudice, providing a theoretical explanation for each association that has not been fully explored in previous research. Next, I discussed the functional perspective of attitudes, and sought to combine this perspective with social identity theory to clarify the process and rationale for sexual prejudice and discrimination against lesbians and gays. This explanation will be tested in the course of this dissertation. The next chapter will explore the specific predictions suggested by social identity theory regarding the interaction between heterosexuals with various in-group ties and gay men and lesbians in the context of a service relationship.

SECTION 2

STUDY 1

CHAPTER 3

BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT FOR STUDY 1

As noted in the last chapter, social identity theory is the dominant paradigm in the study of prejudice and discrimination. Through this lens, social scientists have come to recognize that peoples' attitudes and behaviors toward one another are influenced by the salient in-groups that are most central to their identities. In the case of relationships between heterosexuals and lesbians/gays, social identity theory predicts that prejudice and discrimination are most likely to occur when heterosexuals identify with in-groups that perceive gay men and lesbians as an identity threat.

The purpose of Study 1 was to examine social identity theory's predictions regarding heterosexuals' reactions to a gay service provider. This chapter contains a review of the research on intergroup relations specific to each of three important business outcomes: perceptions of performance, the selection of a service provider, and the decision to pursue employment with an organization. Then, I present specific hypotheses in Study 1 for each of these outcomes. After explaining my methods and results in Chapters 4 and 5, I conclude this section with a discussion of the outcomes, implications, and limitations of this research in Chapter 6.

Social Identity Theory and Performance Perceptions

Research in social identity theory includes the particularly interesting effect of social group membership on the appraisal of another person's task performance. While many researchers have investigated formal performance appraisal systems within organizations, my purpose is to look more broadly at individuals' perceptions of how well another person is performing generally in a job role. Current literature conceptualizes this assessment of performance as a complex information-processing task (DeNisi, Cafferty, & Meglino, 1984; Feldman, 1981; Ilgen & Feldman, 1983) with a variety of affective, motivational, and interpersonal components (Lefkowitz, 2000; Varma, DeNisi, & Peters, 1996). Conceived this way, performance perceptions are fraught with cognitive errors because appraisal decisions are colored by the idiosyncratic perceptions of evaluators, such as their social group memberships (Bretz et al., 1992).

Increasing cultural diversity in the American workforce has prompted researchers to pay special attention to the unique issues raised when members of one socio-cultural group are asked to evaluate the performance of members of another group (Biernat, Vescio, & Manis, 1998; Dibpoye, 1985). In this evaluation, stereotyping, shifting performance standards, and stigma compound the already-complex endeavor of accurately assessing and communicating performance assessments (Colella, DeNisi, & Varma, 1997). As my discussion of social identity theory in Chapter 1 suggests, studies of intergroup performance evaluation have confirmed only weakly the presence of a general positive bias toward those who share the evaluator's salient personal or social characteristics and a negative bias against those who do not (for a review, see Brewer & Kramer, 1985). Studies confirm that disparities between rater and ratee in areas such as

age (Clapham & Fulford, 1997) and smoking preferences (Gilbert, Hannan & Lowe, 1998) contribute to lower scores for ratees. However, there are conflicting results in studies of white males' evaluations of the performance of ethnic minorities (Cox & Nkomo, 1986; Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990; Kraiger & Ford, 1985; Sackett, DeBois, & Noe, 1991; Waldman & Avolio, 1991) and women (Fenlanson, 1991; Haberfield & Shenav, 1990; Halpert, Wilson, & Hickman, 1993; Maurer & Taylor, 1994; Pulakos, White, Oppler, & Borman, 1989; Robbins & DeNisi, 1993). Studies conducted in both laboratory and field settings have indicated that some evaluators routinely make unbiased assessments of out-group members, whereas others do not or cannot. Although the cognitive processes of these evaluations have been studied to some extent (i.e., Petty et al., 1999), very little attention has been paid to the elements that motivate evaluators to make biased or unbiased assessments of out-group members.

Interpersonal affect, or the extent to which raters like or dislike ratees (Zajonc, 1980), may be one factor influencing these mixed results. Laboratory studies suggest that affect has a general influence on all types of evaluations (Alexander & Wilkins, 1982). More specifically, raters with positive or negative affect toward ratees are most and least lenient, respectively, in their evaluations of ratees' performance (Tsui & Barry, 1986). However, although a field study by Varma, DeNisi and Peters (1996) identified the influence of affect on manager's performance ratings, the reason for this influence on a layperson's evaluations remains unclear (Murphy & Cleveland, 1991).

Social identity theory suggests that a rater's affective response to a ratee belonging to an out-group may be influenced by the rater's perception of the threat that out-group member poses to the rater's in-group status. Research examining intergroup

evaluations among laypeople indicates that in-group members make negative evaluations of out-group members when they believe that the out-group poses a threat to their in-group and/or to their identity as a member of that group (Crocker et al., 1987). Several studies have shown that threat to one's self-image can lead to negative evaluations of others (Brown & Gallagher, 1992; Crocker et al., 1987; Gibbons & Gerrard, 1991). Other work has demonstrated that negative evaluations of others can lead to increased self-esteem for the evaluator (Brickman & Bulman, 1977; Fein & Spencer, 1997; Spencer et al., 1998; Taylor & Lobel, 1989; Wills, 1991; Wood & Taylor, 1991). In this way, prejudice toward an out-group member can be self-affirming: by acting on prejudicial attitudes to rate an out-group member negatively, some people maintain a feeling of self-worth and self-integrity (Fein & Spencer, 1997).

Studies investigating the evaluation of people with disabilities confirm the perceived cognitive "cost" to raters of a positive performance evaluation of an out-group member. Researchers have identified raters' positive bias, or "norm to be kind," toward people with disabilities in order to avoid being unpleasant (Hastorf, Northcraft & Picciotto, 1979). However, subsequent work has determined that this "norm" operates only in situations where the positive evaluation is of little consequence or cost to the evaluator (Gibbons, Stephan, Stephenson & Petty, 1980; Piner & Kahle, 1984; for a review, see Colella et al., 1997). Whenever evaluators perceive negative results for themselves in a positive evaluation (i.e., rewards will be lost or work processes made more difficult), they are likely to evaluate a disabled person's performance negatively (Colella, DeNisi & Varma, 1998).

In summary, social identity theory suggests that raters use the evaluation of another person's performance as a mechanism for discrimination. Consequently, an in-group rater's evaluation of an out-group member's performance can be explained by the process shown in Figure 1. If the out-group is not salient to the in-group rater and/or does not pose a threat to the rater's in-group status, then ratings of the out-group member are not likely to be lowered to reflect the discriminatory reactions of the in-group member. Other types of discriminatory behaviors can also be explained using this model. As shown in the following section, in-group members are also likely to seek social distance between themselves and out-group members when intergroup differences are particularly salient.

Social Identity Theory and Engagement of Service Providers

Social identity theory also suggests that consumers of services will select service providers partially on the basis of in-group and out-group memberships. Generally speaking, because routine encounters with the same service provider take the form of relatively personal relationships, it is likely that customers will seek service providers who do not threaten their identity or sense of self-worth. I will begin this section with a brief overview of the customer/service provider relations, and then discuss the propositions suggested by social identity theory in more detail.

The service component of the American economy is an important one: almost 75% of the labor force works in some type of service setting, roughly 50% of Americans' income is spent on services, and the provision of excellent service is currently viewed as a benchmark of corporate excellence in the U.S. economy (Guterk, 1995). We are all consumers of services in some regard (Guterk, 1999). We experience a variety of service-

provider/customer relationships and interactions, and we are generally comfortable in them. Customers use their experience in this context to develop remarkably consistent expectations of what a service encounter should include (Boulding, Kalra, Staelin & Zeithaml, 1993).

Because services are consumed as they are produced, the service provider is an essential component of the quality of the service and customers' reactions to it (Guttek, 1999). Interactions between customers and providers become "service relationships" when customers have repeated contact with the same provider, and when they come to think of that individual as "their" personal service-giver. In such cases, the consumer maintains a relationship with that service provider that is more tangible than his or her connection to the product or company that the service provider represents (Guttek, 1995; Guttek, Bhappu, Liao-Troth, & Cherry, 1999). Although the service itself is, of course, important to the continuance of these relationships, the social aspect of each interaction is a distinct yet critical component of customer satisfaction (Mittal & Lassar, 1996).

Customers' positive affect toward individual service providers prompts them to report high levels of overall satisfaction with the service they receive (Oliver, Rust, & Varki, 1997), which in turn keeps customers loyally aligned with their providers (Barnes, 1997). Customers in this situation ultimately spend more money for services than their non-aligned counterparts, and are more likely to request additional services from the same provider (Beatty, Mayer, Coleman, & Reynolds, 1996).

Research confirms that companies inspire customer loyalty and achieve a competitive advantage when they effectively meet customers' expectations in service relationships (Zeithaml, Berry, & Parasuraman, 1996). Although these expectations vary

depending on the kind of service provided, five overarching dimensions of service quality have been identified: reliability, delivery of appropriate tangibles, responsiveness, assurance of quality, and empathy with the consumer (Iacobucci & Ostrom, 1996; Parasuraman, Berry & Zeithaml, 1991). Customers' naïve perceptions of competence in each of these dimensions tend to be robust and remarkably consistent across service contexts (Furnham & Coveney, 1996; Schneider, Holcombe & White, 1997; Smith, 1996). The first four dimensions are relatively easy to measure and describe, but rating empathy is more difficult. Defined as "the caring, individualized attention provided to the customer" (Parasuraman et al., 1991, p. 41), empathy is thought to be the cornerstone of customer service relationships. Despite its importance, researchers have only recently begun to investigate the components of personal service relationships that contribute to customers' perceptions of empathy (Iacobucci & Ostrom, 1996). At this stage, affective variables such as perceptions of empathy are believed to contribute most to the development of close, satisfying relationships between customers and service providers (Alford & Sherrell, 1996; Barnes, 1997), resulting in enhanced perceptions of the provider's competence (Guttek, 1995).

Customers want competent service providers, but individual attitudes toward gay men and lesbians are likely to influence heterosexual customers' decisions to pursue service relationships with a gay man or lesbian, even if they believe that person to be competent. According to social identity theory, customers with strong heterosexual in-group ties will choose not to receive services from providers with same-sex orientations. Research in the marketing arena largely supports this contention of social identity theory. The similarity-attraction paradigm suggests that similarity between customers and service

providers results in good relationships and enhanced sales effectiveness, whereas salient differences between them may impede the development of a positive service relationship (Crosby, Evans & Cowles, 1990). Overt differences between the two may result in less relational involvement, trust, and satisfaction with the service relationship (Smith, 1996). However, not all research supports conventional wisdom that exchange relationships are easier to develop with similar others (Churchill, Ford & Walker, 1997). For example, although Dwyer, Richard & Shepherd (1998) confirmed that both service providers and customers were initially attracted to one another on the basis of their similarities, demographic dissimilarities between them had no effect on the quality of the relationship over time. Nonetheless, since quality of rapport between the customer and the provider leads to a successful service relationship, social identity theory suggests that customers are not likely to establish service relationships with providers that make them uncomfortable. Heterosexuals who have strong ties to in-groups that demand support of heterosexuality and rejection of lesbians and gays would likely be uncomfortable maintaining a service relationship with a gay or lesbian provider. And, just as these one-on-one service relationships are likely to be avoided, so too would heterosexuals with these in-group ties likely avoid situations in which they would have regular interactions with co-workers known to be lesbian or gay. In this way, social identity theory also helps us understand the ways that in-group and out-group memberships contribute to individuals' decisions to accept employment with organizations. This is discussed in the following section.

Social Identity Theory and Recruits' Job Choice Decisions

Job seekers' identities and values have a strong influence on their choice of positions to pursue (Judge & Cable, 1997) and their perceptions of a position's attractiveness (Judge & Bretz, 1992). Schneider's (1987) attraction-selection-retention paradigm suggests that individuals are attracted to, join, and ultimately stay with companies in which their personal value systems are congruent with those of their co-workers. To determine their "fit" with an organization, applicants seek information about employment opportunities from job advertisements and recruitment brochures (Rynes, 1991) and from employees currently working in the organization (Breugh, 1992). This information is the basis for applicants' beliefs about a job, and these beliefs are primary determinants of their attraction to an organization and their intention to pursue employment there (Schwab, Rynes, & Aldag, 1987; Stevens, 1997; Turban, Campion, & Eyring, 1995).

In addition to sustaining employees' in-group identities, value congruence between employees and their employers serves a pragmatic function. Values can be defined as "beliefs about the way an individual ought to behave" (Ravlin & Meglino, 1987, p. 155), and people are better able to predict the behaviors of those with whom they share values (Kluckhorn, 1951). Pragmatically, agreement about what behaviors should be used in the workplace (Schein, 1985) reduces workers' anxiety and uncertainty about the job (Adkins, Ravlin, & Meglino, 1996; Ravlin & Meglino, 1987).

Joining an organization is also perceived as a public expression of sharing the values of that organization (Popovich & Wanous, 1982). Consequently, social identity theory suggests that recruits are unlikely to seek positions with companies whose values

are not similar to those of their salient in-group(s) (Judge & Bretz, 1992). Pragmatically, heterosexuals who perceive that their in-group values are threatened by the affirmation of gay men and lesbians are not likely to join an organization that publicly communicates support for homosexuals in its workplace. Joining such an organization could threaten both perceptions of the superiority of the in-group and the acceptance of this individual by others in the group. Social identity theory contends that both of these risks are untenable for individuals with strong self categorization into a particular in-group. The process in Figure 1 not only provides a theoretical overview of discriminatory behavior, as discussed in the preceding sections, but also suggests specific hypotheses for exploration, as noted below.

Hypotheses

The purpose of this study was to systematically investigate hypotheses suggested by social identity theory as they relate to heterosexuals' reactions to and treatment of gay men and lesbians in a business context. As previously noted, no studies have yet examined the effect of a service provider's same-sex orientation on heterosexual observers' perceptions of their performance, intentions to engage them as a service provider, or reactions to them as representatives of a potential employer. This study is a first step toward understanding the utility of social identity theory in understanding these effects. Each will be discussed more specifically below.

Performance Evaluation

Social identity theory suggests that in-group and out-group distinctions will be made salient whenever people are known to differ from one another in any meaningful way. However, as noted in the last section, the salience of intergroup distinctions does

not automatically prompt all in-group members to provide negative evaluations of out-group members. A heterosexual who does not view gays and lesbians as threats to identity or self-esteem should perceive no negative consequences of providing a positive evaluation of their performance. Consequently, a heterosexual will not automatically engage in discrimination against these out-group members through the provision of negative evaluations of task performance.

Ironically, this heterosexual may discriminate through inflated performance appraisals of gays and lesbians. In the absence of identity or self-esteem issues, in-group members are likely to provide neutral or even high evaluations of out-group members' performance. In fact, when the performance of an out-group member is particularly good, in-group raters may inflate their performance assessments (Linville, 1982; Linville & Jones, 1980). Consistent with Kelley's (1972) augmentation effect, adequate performance may be seen as highly positive when it is observed in one who is not expected to perform well, resulting in more extreme positive evaluations of out-group members when their performance is good (Linville, 1982; Linville & Jones, 1980). Members of out-groups, who are expected to be relatively incompetent when compared to in-group members, are held to lower performance standards (Foschi, 1992). Consequently, when an out-group member performs adequately, observers are likely to rate that individuals' performance even more positively than that of an identically performing in-group member (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Biernat & Manis, 1994), provided that the evaluation does not constitute a potential threat or cost to one's in-group status (Alexander, Brewer & Herrmann, 1999).

In terms of differences in sexual orientation group, a heterosexual may view lesbian or gay service providers as overcoming significant obstacles to good performance. So, the “handicap” or stigma of being lesbian or gay may prompt a heterosexual observer to rate gay or lesbian providers’ merely adequate performance as especially good. This suggests the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1a: Heterosexuals will rate a gay or lesbian service provider as more competent than a comparably performing heterosexual service provider.

Social identity theory suggests that there will be significant exceptions to this hypothesis. Some heterosexuals will discriminate, or provide negative evaluations of a gay or lesbian person’s performance, simply because of their negative affective response to a same-sex orientation. This will happen for two reasons. First, perceived differences between rater and ratee often result in lower scores for ratees (Clapham & Fulford, 1997; Gilbert et al., 1998). Individuals high in heterosexism are likely to perceive gay men and lesbians as less similar to themselves, exacerbating perceived differences between themselves and a gay or lesbian ratee. Second, positive interpersonal affect and liking may inflate performance appraisals, while negative affect may deflate them. Since it is unlikely that people with strong sexual prejudice will report significant liking for gay men and lesbians—the target of that prejudice—heterosexism should be associated with lower performance ratings for homosexual performers. Thus, the main effect hypothesized above will be subject to an interaction effect, such that individuals high in heterosexism will rate a gay/lesbian service provider less positively than a heterosexual service provider. This suggests the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1b: Heterosexuals' performance ratings of a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by heterosexism, such that those high in heterosexism will provide lower performance ratings than will those low in heterosexism.

Additionally, social identity theory suggests that individuals who are closely aligned with in-groups that perceive gay men and lesbians as threatening to their identities or belief structures are similarly unlikely to provide positive performance evaluations to gays and lesbians. As previously noted, two in-groups that are likely to be threatened by the homosexual out-group are conservative religious believers and people strongly aligned with traditional gender roles. In the sections that follow, I will examine the rationale for each of these in-group's negative reactions to a homosexual out-group member.

Although religion has long been assumed to be particularly salient for those who self-categorize as members of a particular faith, the role of religious beliefs in interpersonal intergroup relations has been investigated only rarely (Pedersen, Williams, & Kristensen, 2000). The few existing studies confirm that devout believers react strongly to potential threats to their religious identity, and typically respond in ways that identify themselves as prototypical members of their religious group (Burriss & Jackson, 2000). Deaux and colleagues (Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi & Cotting, 1999) found that individuals who expressed a strong personal identification with a religious faith (Mormonism, in their study) derived more collective self-esteem from their identification than did members who strongly identified with other social groups. Consequently, perceived threat to a religious in-group would be viewed as particularly important by a member of this group. In this light, discrimination against gay men and lesbians should

be expected from conservative believers (those who align themselves with the beliefs of a religion that supports traditional social and spiritual positions and eschews homosexuality) as both an affirmation of their chosen faith and a defense of their traditional worldview. While heterosexuals not aligned with a conservative religious in-group may perceive little or no cost associated with providing a positive performance evaluation to a gay man or lesbian, those who believe that these out-groups are a threat to their religious in-group will respond differently. For those self-categorized into a conservative religious in-group, there is a perceived "identity cost" of a positive performance evaluation that will likely be too great for them to bear. Consequently, I hypothesize that the main effect predicted in Hypothesis 1a will be subject to an interaction as noted below:

Hypothesis 1c: Heterosexuals' performance ratings of a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by conservative religious orientation, such that those with a strong orientation will rate the provider less positively than will those with a weak orientation.

Research reveals that individuals holding strong gender-role orientations tend to react negatively when their expectations are not met, causing them to evaluate non-traditional sexual orientations negatively (Harry, 1995; Krulewitz & Nash, 1980; MacDonald et al., 1973; Newman, 1989; Weinberger & Millham, 1979; Whitley, 1987, 1999). This leads me to hypothesize that heterosexuals who strongly identify with their traditional gender role will provide more negative evaluations of homosexuals than will heterosexuals whose gender roles are not central to their identity. Again, the "identity cost" of validating a homosexual who performs well will be higher for those aligned to

traditional sex roles that for those who are not. As such, I also predict an interaction in which traditional gender role identification qualifies the main effect hypothesized in 1a, such that a gay or lesbian service provider will receive lower performance ratings from a rater high in traditional gender role identification.

Hypothesis 1d: Heterosexuals' performance ratings of a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by gender role identification, such that those with a strong traditional identification will rate the provider less positively than will those with a weak orientation.

Having discussed the hypotheses concerning heterosexuals' evaluations of gay men's and lesbians' task performances, I turn attention to another type of intergroup contact: the selection and engagement of a personal service provider. Hypotheses relative to this area are discussed in the following section.

Service Provider Selection

Customers who rate providers as competent are more likely to engage them in service relationships (Zeithaml, Berry & Parasuraman, 1996). Competent providers inspire trust in both products (Godd, Boles, Bellenger & Stojack, 1997) and services (Alford & Sherrell, 1996). Interactions with competent providers also are valued because they enhance customers' feelings of control over the exchange process (VanRaaij & Pruyn, 1998) and help reduce customers' uncertainty (Smith, 1996). Consequently, customers who experience interactions with competent providers are more likely to seek them out again when obtaining similar goods and services (Beatty, Mayer, Coleman & Reynolds, 1996; Gutek, 1995).

Hypothesis 2a: Ratings of a service provider's competence will be positively associated with behavioral intentions to engage the services of that provider.

Again, social identity theory suggests exceptions to this hypothesis. First, individuals usually engage an individual service provider with the hope of developing a service relationship with that provider (Guttek, 1995). Because the customer hopes to experience a positive level of interpersonal comfort with the provider, individuals high in heterosexism will choose not to engage the services of a gay or lesbian service provider, particularly since heterosexism is traditionally associated with behavioral intentions to distance oneself from gays and lesbians (Larsen et al., 1980; Monteith et al., 1993). Highly prejudiced heterosexuals would simply be too uncomfortable with the thought of interacting regularly with a gay man or lesbian to desire to engage them as service providers, regardless of the quality of service they might receive from that provider. Consequently, I hypothesize that the main effect presented in Hypothesis 2a will be subject to the following interaction:

Hypothesis 2b: Heterosexuals' desire to engage a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by heterosexism, such that those high in heterosexism will report lower desire to engage the provider than will those low in heterosexism.

Similarly, people differ in the strength of their identification with their heterosexual in-group, and subsequently differ in the strength of their negative reactions to members of gay or lesbian out-groups. Again, individuals whose identities are closely aligned with conservative religious beliefs and/or traditional gender roles are likely to perceive intimate, interpersonal interaction with a gay man or lesbian as more threatening than will those without these identities. Not only would the formation of such an alliance

threaten individual identities, but it would be inconsistent with the public expression of in-group values and norms. Consequently, individuals who have self-categorized into in-groups that are threatened by gay men and lesbians would be highly unlikely to view a service relationship with a gay or lesbian service provider as comfortable or desirable. I hypothesize that these two in-group memberships will also qualify the main effect presented in Hypothesis 2a as noted below:

Hypothesis 2c: Heterosexuals' desire to engage a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by conservative religious orientation, such that those with a strong orientation will report lower desire to engage the provider than will those with a weak orientation.

Hypothesis 2d: Heterosexuals' desire to engage a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by gender role identification, such that those with a strong orientation will report lower desire to engage the provider than will those with a weak orientation.

Just as social identity theory predicts that some individuals' in-group ties prohibit them from forming interpersonal alliances with gay or lesbian service providers, so too does the theory suggest that some individuals will avoid public commitments to organizations that are known to support gays and lesbians in the workplace. To explore this premise, it is first necessary to determine that the presence of gay or lesbian service providers sends a signal about a company's corporate philosophies vis-à-vis gays and lesbians generally, and then to explore the implications of this signal for heterosexuals in various in-groups. These issues are developed in the following section.

Company Perceptions

Interaction with a gay or lesbian service provider should influence heterosexuals' perceptions of the company employing that provider. Particularly in the service industry, research confirms that front-line employees, such as personal service providers, serve as an important indicator of the organization's character for customers largely because these providers are customers' only source of information about the organization (Parasuraman et al., 1988). Consequently, when heterosexual customers learn that their service provider is gay or lesbian, and also know that the provider is treated well by his/her employer, they are likely to make the general attribution that the company supports gay people in its workplace. This perception has a number of implications, as noted below.

Support for Diversity

A company's support of gay and lesbian workers communicates its general commitment to diversity in the workplace. In an attempt to communicate an organizational value of diversity initiatives and tolerance, many companies use photographs of employees with a variety of ethnic backgrounds and physical abilities in their recruiting literature (Brief, Buttram, Reizenstein, & Pughet, 1997; Hanover & Cellar, 1998). Given the stigma associated with same-sex orientation, and the amount of prejudice and discrimination directed toward gay men and lesbians, it is logical to assume that they would be perceived similarly to other social groups that have been marginalized in the past, such as African-Americans or people with disabilities. Consequently, a company's employment and advancement of gay men or lesbians logically communicates its commitment to diversity in the same way that its employment and advancement of people of color or people with disabilities. I hypothesize as follows:

Hypothesis 3a: The perception that a company is committed to diversity will be positively associated with that organization's employment of gays and lesbians.

Fair Treatment of Employees

Research findings provide mixed guidance for hypothesizing outcomes of this diversity-friendly perception. On one hand, observers may view a company's commitment to diversity as evidence of the general fairness of the organization's policies and practices. Conventional wisdom suggests that, if prospective employees see that a company treats members of traditionally disadvantaged social groups fairly, the observer will believe that the organization is committed to treating all employees in a fair and impartial way. On the other hand, a wealth of research suggests that a company's commitment to diversity, particularly in the form of affirmative action programs, can trigger observers' perceptions of injustice because the preferential treatment given to minorities in the hiring process is viewed as unfair (Heilman, Simon & Repper, 1987; Jacobson & Koch, 1977).

For two reasons, most heterosexual customers encountering competent gay or lesbian service providers will perceive that the organizations employing those providers have fair procedures for all employees. First, customers are affected by a company's fair treatment of its service provider employees. Second, assuming that the equity rules of distributive justice are not violated, observers are likely to view a company's positive treatment of a member of a traditionally stigmatized social group as evidence of its overall fairness. Each argument is presented in more detail below.

Customer Perceptions of Fairness. Recent studies imply that service providers tend to treat customers similarly to how those providers are treated by their employers

(Heskett, Sasser & Schlesinger, 1997; Rucci, Kirn & Wuinn, 1998; Schneider, Gunnarson & Niles-Jolly, 1994). Masterson (2001) demonstrated that a company's fairness toward service employees "spills over" to customers, who similarly view their treatment in service interactions as fair (see also Schneider & Bowen, 1992). Similarly, Berry (1995) noted that, when service organizations treat their employees unfairly, they diminish service providers' motivation to provide good customer service, ultimately lowering customer service quality.

Bowen, Gilliland and Folger (1999) recently contended that this spillover effect contributes to customer loyalty and satisfaction both with the individual service provider and the entire organization the provider represents. Although empirically untested, this proposition implies that customers are at some level aware of how their service providers are treated on the job. In light of research indicating that providers are customers' primary windows into the service organization (Parasuraman et al., 1988), I suggest that, when a provider is treated fairly by their employing organization, customers will perceive the service organization as generally fair.

Fair treatment of a stigmatized employee. On the basis of its treatment of its service providers, customers' tendency to believe that an organization is fair should be sustained when customers recognize that the provider is a member of a traditionally stigmatized social group. Generally, research confirms that companies espousing strong support for affirmative action and/or equal opportunity programs for minorities are believed to be procedurally fairer than their non-supportive counterparts (Parker, Baltes & Christiansen, 1997). This finding suggests that customers' perceptions of a service

organization's fairness will be sustained when the service provider comes from a traditionally stigmatized social group.

One conflicting theme in the justice literature needs to be acknowledged. Stigmatized employees who receive preferential treatment in the workplace, usually in the form of affirmative action programs, are often branded as incompetent (Jacobson & Koch, 1977). Affirmative action programs are viewed as just in the context of "need-based" distributive justice (Deutsch, 1975), since they provide outcomes according to a recipient's need for employment. However, when viewed from justice perspectives of equity and equality, programs that advance employees without regard to their contributions to the organization or without providing equal opportunity for advancement for all workers are viewed as unjust (Gilliland, 1993; Kleiman & Faley, 1988). Since the equity perspective on fairness is largely accepted as the most common in organizational life (Bierhoff, Cohen & Greenberg, 1986; Deutsch, 1975; Gilliland, 1993; Hartigan & Wigdor, 1989), many researchers contend that a company's need-based diversity management practices will be viewed as unjust under most circumstances (Crosby, Burris, Censor & McKethan, 1986).

For two reasons, I argue that this "backlash" effect is not likely to influence customers' reactions to organizational policies that treat gay and lesbian service providers fairly. First, since affirmative action-type hiring and promotion policies typically do not apply to gays and lesbians, it is not likely that customers will believe that these providers were given special consideration because of their sexual orientation. Second, since overt discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is legal in most places, companies' diversity management initiatives that include gay men and lesbians are largely voluntary

and typically focus only on eliminating discrimination (Elliott, 2000). Such programs are usually perceived by non-recipients as much fairer than others focused on recruitment and training or preferential treatment (Heilman, Battle, Keller & Lee, 1998; Matheson, Echenberg, Taylor, Rivers & Chow, 1994; Robinson, Seydel & Douglas, 1998). Consequently, I hypothesize that a company will be rated as generally fair on the basis of its positive treatment of gay male and lesbian employees.

Hypothesis 3b: The perception that a company has fair procedures will be positively associated with that organization's employment of gay men and lesbians.

Attraction to the Organization

Individuals' perceptions of procedural fairness within an organization generally predict their attraction to that company as a potential employer (Skarlicki, Ellard & Kellin, 1998). Research demonstrates that people are attracted to, and are likely to pursue employment with, companies that demonstrate fair policies for dealing with employees (Folger & Cropanzano, 1998; Gilliland, 1993, 1994, 1995). Thus, the relationship between the perception that a company has fair procedures and the behavioral intention to pursue employment with that company should be robust. This is particularly likely in a setting in which individuals possess limited additional information about a company and must make a decision about its desirability as an employer solely on the basis of its treatment of a particular stigmatized employee. I hypothesize accordingly:

Hypothesis 3c: The perception that a company has fair procedures will be positively associated with perceptions of that company as a desirable employer.

I argue that these perceptions of fairness actually mediate the relationship between customers' beliefs that an organization is committed to diversity and their perceptions of the company as a desirable employer. Baron and Kenny (1986) note that a variable functions as a mediator when it accounts for the relationship between a predictor—in this case the perception that the company is committed to diversity management—and the criterion, or here the desirability of the company as an employer. Essentially, I contend that perceptions of organizational justice are a mechanism through which diversity management programs make a company more desirable as an employer. This relationship is depicted in Figure 3.

When recruits examine a company to determine its attractiveness as a potential employer, one important goal of their perusal is evidence of how they will be treated in the workplace (Iles & Robertson, 1989; Robertson & Smith, 1989). Recent research indicates that one way that recruits obtain this information is by scrutinizing a company's practices during the selection process to determine how fairly procedures are handled (Gilliland, 1993; Gilliland & Steiner, 1996). In this instance, although job-related elements of the selection process certainly have a direct influence on a recruit's perceptions of a company's desirability as an employer, at least part of the selection experience influences perceptions of the company because it sends a message regarding organizational justice (Gilliland, 1993).

Similarly, although their effect on recruitment programs has admittedly not been well explored, I contend that diversity management programs send messages regarding organizational justice to potential recruits. Naturally, some recruits may view working with a diverse array of colleagues as a desirable end in itself, suggesting a direct

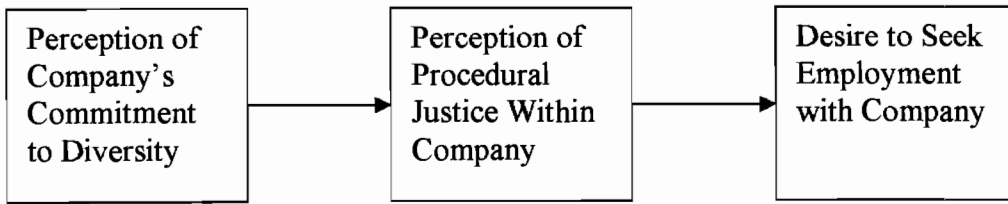


Figure 3: Justice Perceptions Mediating the Relationship Between Perceptions of a Company's Commitment to Diversity Management and Desire to Seek Employment With the Company

relationship between diversity management programs and company desirability. However, most people are likely to value an organization on the basis of its diversity management program because of their belief that such a program promotes fairness in the workplace. First, fairness is an overt and often-stated motive for diversity initiatives (Hayles & Russell, 1997; Loden, 1996). Since overt references to fairness are thought to prompt justice judgments (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, Sechrest, & Grove, 1981), companies themselves may be partially responsible for this relationship. Second, while attitudes regarding multiculturalism are remarkably mixed (Hemphill & Haines, 1997), the desire for fair treatment is thought to be largely universal (Leventhal, 1976). Consequently, perceptions of a company's desirability on the basis of its diversity management initiatives are likely to be a result of beliefs that a company with such programs will treat all workers fairly, rather than a reflection of recruits' widespread desire to interact in a diverse work environment.

This research suggests that most recruits do not directly view a company as a desirable employer simply because of its diversity management programs. Instead, recruits view diversity management programs as a signal that the organization is committed to an ethic of fairness. This belief in a company's commitment to organizational justice accounts for the relationship between a company's diversity management practices (the predictor) and desire to work for that company (the criterion). As such, justice perceptions meet the criteria set by Baron and Kenney (1986) as a mediating variable in the relationship between diversity management programs and the attractiveness of a company employing those programs as a potential employer. I hypothesize as follows:

Hypothesis 3d: Perceptions of procedural justice mediate the relationship between the perception of a company as diversity-friendly and the perception of that company as a desirable employer.

This hypothesis is not likely to be valid for individuals high in heterosexism. First, individuals high in heterosexism tend to report strong behavioral intentions to discriminate against gay men and lesbians, even when acknowledging that such behavior is not socially desirable (Monteith et al., 1993). Consequently, it is unlikely that they would choose to align themselves with an organization that overtly rejects discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, even when such a rejection holds out the promise of generally fair treatment in that workplace. Moreover, since individuals high in heterosexism tend to seek social distance and personal distance from gay men and lesbians (Morin & Garfinkle, 1978), it is unlikely that they would choose to work for an organization that openly supports lesbian or gay co-workers, since they would be likely to encounter more openly gay or lesbian individuals in the workplace (Ragins & Cornwell, 2000). This prompts me to hypothesize that the main effect presented above will be subject to an interaction, such that:

Hypothesis 3e: Heterosexuals' perceptions of the desirability of joining a company employing a gay or lesbian representative will be moderated by heterosexism, such that those high in heterosexism will rate the company as less desirable than will those low in heterosexism.

Finally, although the supposition is also empirically untested, social identity theory suggests that individuals whose personal value systems are not compatible with particular forms of workplace diversity would not desire employment with companies

who stated commitment to these values is particularly strong. Consequently, it is unlikely that recruits with strong in-group orientations that prize heterosexuality will desire employment with a company if their only information about that firm comes from a gay or lesbian representative. Since companies' recruiting efforts contain large elements of persuasion, research examining the effect of social identity on persuasive message reception is telling. Studies have confirmed that, for people whose self-categorization with a particular in-group is salient, messages from out-group members are less likely to be persuasive (Haslam, McGarty & Turner, 1996; McGarty, Haslam, Hutchinson & Turner, 1994). Consequently, it is unlikely that a gay or lesbian representative would persuade a strongly self-categorized heterosexual that a gay-friendly organization is a desirable place to work.

Prejudicial attitudes that are central to personal identity will prompt heterosexuals' behavioral intentions to distance themselves from a gay-friendly organization. The decision to pursue employment with an organization known to be friendly to salient out-group members would be untenable for individuals with a strongly internalized conservative religious orientation because daily interactions with gays and lesbians, coupled with public alliance with an organization known to be supportive of these out-groups, would comprise a significant threat to in-group values. Similarly, people who strongly identify with their traditional gender roles are likely to be threatened by a work environment that would require them to both interact with gay and lesbian co-workers and at least tacitly support the employment of lesbians and gays through their alliance with the organization. It is likely that individuals in each of these in-groups will view the service provider's employer as less desirable if they know that the service

provider is gay or lesbian. This suggests that the main effect hypothesized above is again subject to qualification by interaction effects on the basis of salient in-group memberships, as hypothesized below:

Hypothesis 3f: Heterosexuals' perceptions of the desirability of joining a company employing a gay or lesbian representative will be moderated by conservative religious orientation, such that those with a strong orientation will rate the company as less desirable than will those with a weak orientation.

Hypothesis 3g: Heterosexuals' perceptions of the desirability of joining a company employing a gay or lesbian representative will be moderated by gender role identification, such that those with a strong identification will rate the company as less desirable than will those with a weak identification.

This chapter provided the rationale for each of the hypotheses to be investigated in Study 1. The next chapter contains a description of the research methodology used in this investigation. Chapter 5 reports the results of this investigation, and Chapter 6 provides a discussion of the implications and limitations of this research.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY USED IN STUDY 1

Study 1 was a laboratory study in which the sexual orientation of a service provider portrayed in a videotaped scenario was systematically manipulated to determine participants' reactions to his same-sex orientation in this context. This chapter describes the participants in the study, its design, and the procedures and measurement tools used in this investigation.

Participants

Participants ($n = 225$) were undergraduate students from The Ohio State University who participated in the study to fulfill a course requirement in their Introduction to Organizational Behavior course during the Spring 1999 academic quarter. Although 232 students signed up, and all of them participated, seven participants' surveys were eliminated from the final analysis because they were largely incomplete. In each case, failure to complete the survey was a result of the participant's lack of familiarity with the English language.

Of the 225 remaining participants, 73.3% were between the ages of 21-23, 58.2% were male, and 77.8% were Caucasian. All participants reported a heterosexual orientation. The majority of participants (72.4%) were employed in addition to attending school; the average number of hours worked per week was 20.2. Most participants

reported Protestant (39.6%) or Catholic (30.2%) religious affiliations; 14.7% indicated that they attended church-related activities one or more times each week. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three study conditions as follows: 74 (32.9%) were in each of the control/no disclosure and third party disclosure conditions, and 77 (34.2%) were in the self-disclosure condition.

Design

The sexual orientation of the service provider was manipulated to create three study conditions. In the first, sexual orientation was not mentioned (the control condition). In the second, a homosexual orientation was self-disclosed by the service provider (the self-disclosure condition), and in the third, a third party disclosed the service provider's same-sex orientation (the third-party disclosure condition).

Procedure

Students signed up individually to participate in one of 21 study sessions held outside of class time. They participated in groups of 8-17. Upon arrival, participants were each given a clipboard and a pen, and asked to sit in chairs spaced around the room. They were told that this spacing was intended to preserve the confidentiality of their survey responses. Participants were told that the purpose of the study was to evaluate the communication choices made by service providers in service relationships, and given a brief description of a service relationship. Then, each participant was given an individual questionnaire to assess independent variables and collect demographic information. A copy of the questionnaire is included as Appendix A.

Once all participants had completed the questionnaire, I provided the group with fictional background information about the service provider both verbally and in writing.

To enhance the realism of the scenario, participants were told, along with other demographic data, that the service provider was an alumnus of The Ohio State University (OSU) with a degree in Finance who had taken a position with an insurance company upon graduation from OSU. To ensure that participants believed that the provider was a good performer who was well-treated by the organization, I told them that he had received two merit promotions during his tenure with the company and rated his employment experience as “outstanding.” During this presentation, participants in the third-party disclosure condition were told that the service provider was homosexual. The provider’s sexual orientation was not mentioned in the other two conditions.

Participants then viewed videotape in which the sexual orientation of the service provider was manipulated. After seeing the videotape, participants completed a second questionnaire with manipulation checks and the dependent measures. Once these were completed and turned in, I thanked the participants and debriefed them as to the purpose of the study. Each participant was given a slip of paper with information allowing them to contact me or the Principal Investigator (my adviser, Jerald Greenberg) of the study if they had comments or desired further information. After confirming each participant’s attendance to ensure that they received course credit for their participation, I dismissed the entire group.

To ensure that the scripted vignettes accurately and realistically depicted a service relationship between an insurance agent and his customer, I first conducted informal interviews with two insurance agents practicing in Bloomington, Indiana. I asked the agents to identify common occurrences that would prompt customers to request a meeting with their insurance agent. Each agent mentioned the acquisition of a new home or

automobile first. I then asked each agent to describe the kinds of issues that typically arose in their meetings with clients who were acquiring a new home. The resultant script, found in Appendix B, was then reviewed by each agent to ensure technical accuracy.

Second, to ensure that the disclosure of the agent's same-sex orientation was realistic, I asked two executives of the Indiana University-Bloomington Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transsexual Student Support Services office to describe the kinds of questions that were most likely to prompt the disclosure of a same-sex orientation. Each mentioned personal, family-oriented questions first. Again, after the script was written, it was reviewed by each of these executives for technical accuracy.

I recruited actors for the vignettes from the Theater Department at The Ohio State University. Two M.A. students who were personally recommended by their instructor were invited to participate and paid for their time. These actors were asked to memorize the script, but were allowed to rephrase any statements that they felt they could not communicate naturally. Only minor phrasing variations were found in the final videotaped product. The completed videotapes were previewed by a focus group of seven undergraduate students at Indiana University-Bloomington; these students confirmed that the vignettes were understandable and realistic and that the manipulation of sexual orientation was salient.

Sexual Orientation Manipulation

In the context of the videotaped vignette, sexual orientation of the service provider was manipulated in two ways. First, participants in the self-disclosure condition learned that the service provider was gay near the end of the seven-minute vignette when the provider disclosed this information in response to a question about his personal

insurance needs. When asked, “Why did you take out extra life insurance when you bought your home?” the agent replied, “I’m gay, and my life partner and I bought the house together. We took out extra insurance because we wanted to be sure that either of us would have enough money to keep the house should something happen to one of us.” In the control condition vignette, the agent responded that he had named his parents as beneficiary because he wanted them to have the house if anything should happen to him.

Participants in the third-party disclosure condition were told prior to viewing the videotape that the insurance agent was gay. This information was presented verbally and in writing in the context of other general demographic information about the provider. After the disclosure, participants viewed the control condition videotape in which the insurance agent did not disclose his same-sex orientation.

The encounter was scripted such that both parties engaged in reciprocal self-disclosures designed to portray felt intimacy in the dyad (Laurenceau et al., 1998). To ensure that the agent’s disclosure was viewed as contextually appropriate, the agent and customer engaged in reciprocal self-disclosure of equally intimate personal information (Derlage, Harris & Chaikin, 1973; Dindia, 1997; Worthy, Gary & Kahn, 1969). All disclosures were topically relevant to the conversation (Berg & Archer, 1983). Both agent and customer used direct gaze and other nonverbal gestures consistent with self-disclosure acceptance (Ellsworth & Ross, 1975), and personal distance between them was conducive to private self-disclosure (Johnson & Dabbs, 1976). Previous studies have demonstrated that self-disclosure effects are robust whether observers witness the disclosure first-hand, as with a conversation partner, or view it in written or videotaped form (Chaiken & Derlaga, 1974; Cunningham, Strassberg & Haan, 1986).

Service Provider Performance Manipulation

The insurance agent's performance was intentionally and consistently high across each study condition. Participants were given prompts prior to viewing the videotape to ensure that they viewed the agent's performance positively. Specifically, they were told that he had received two merit promotions during his five-year tenure with the organization, and was recognized as an outstanding agent.

The insurance industry is an appropriate context for this study because previous research has confirmed that customers have relatively consistent expectations regarding the components of high quality service received from an insurance agent (Crosby et al., 1990). Customers expect agents to engage in effective face-to-face interaction with clients, have considerable autonomy in that interaction, and form a dyad that is largely independent of other parties (Dwyer et al., 1998; MacKenzie, Podsakoff & Fetter, 1993). To portray a high quality of customer service, the customer and agent interacted alone, without distractions (Grove & Fisk, 1997). Similarly, the vignettes revealed that the agent had consistently provided excellent service and advice in past encounters (Guttek, Bhappu, Liao-Troth & Cherry, 1999; Smith, 1996). The agent engaged in active listening and questioning and was clearly focused on the customer's needs (Schneider, Holcombe & White, 1997). Finally, the information and products made available to the customer were technically correct and appropriate (Van Raaij & Pruyn, 1998).

Measures

Heterosexism

Participants completed Herek's (1984) Attitudes Toward Gays scale to assess their prejudicial attitudes toward gay men. This scale is the most-often utilized in

research assessing attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, and has excellent psychometric properties (Morrison, Parriag & Morrison, 1999). The scale consisted of 24 items, each answered on a 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) Likert-type scale, with higher scores representing more prejudice. The internal consistency of responses in this measure and all subsequently reported measures was assessed using Cronbach's alpha. In the Heterosexism scale, coefficient alpha was computed to be .93.

Conservative Religious Orientation

While providing general demographic information, participants were first asked to name the religion they identified with (if any). Second, they were asked to indicate whether they were currently involved in a religious group/synagogue/congregation, and if so, how often they participated in activities sponsored by that religious organization. Responses ranged from 1 (never) to 7 (more than once per week) on a 1-7 Likert-type scale. Based on these results, participants were assigned to one of six religious categories representing low to high involvement in a conservative religion using the coding schematic shown in Table 1.

The coding schematic contains two distinct elements: the level of involvement each participant had in that religion, and the religion's official position on homosexuality. The level of involvement was operationalized as the number of religiously-related activities attended on a regular basis. A number of previous studies confirm that regular attendance at religious functions is a strong indication of the importance that religious beliefs play in a person's life (Batson, Floyd, Meyer & Winner, 1999; Fulton, 1997; Hunsberger, Owusu & Duck, 1999; Plugge-Foust & Strickland, 2000; Yang, 1997).

<u>Involvement</u>	<u>Religious</u>	
<u>Score^a</u>	<u>Affiliation^b</u>	<u>Level of Attendance</u>
6	Conservative	More than once per week
5	Conservative	Once per week to once per month
4	Moderate	Once per week or more
	Conservative	Less than once per year to 1-2 times per year
3	Moderate	Once per week or more
2	Liberal	More than once per week
	Moderate	Less than once per month
1	Unaffiliated	N/A
	Liberal	Less than once per year

^aInvolvement Scores were determined by combining two measures: the level of attendance/involvement in a particular religious group, and the nature of that church's doctrinal position on gays and lesbians. More tolerant/accepting churches were labeled as "liberal," while those whose doctrines explicitly condemn gays and lesbians were called "conservative."

^bIndividual religions were coded as follows:

Liberal: Presbyterian, Unitarian

Moderate: Buddhist, Episcopalian, Hindu, Methodist, Northern/Independent Baptist, Reformed Jewish, United Church of Christ

Conservative: Catholic, Church of Christ, Evangelical Christian, Greek Orthodox, Islam/Muslim, Lutheran, Nazarene, Orthodox Jewish, Pentecostal, Southern Baptist, Wesleyan

Table 1: Coding Schematic for Religious Orientation

Second, I obtained, either from Internet sites or public documents, the official doctrinal position on homosexuality for each religion participants reported. To categorize these religions, I relied on the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's (1999) definition of religious positions that are liberal, moderate, and conservative with regard to gay men and lesbians. Liberal churches expressly allow the ordination of gay men and lesbians as clergy and/or have provisions that allow clergy to perform ceremonies commemorating the union of same-sex couples. Most moderate religions have a "don't ask/don't tell" policy regarding homosexual clergy, and generally allow decisions regarding same-sex union ceremonies to be made at the local church level. Conservative religions have official doctrinal positions that expressly condemn homosexuality as sinful and immoral. They do not condone homosexuality in the ranks of their clergy, and view same-sex union ceremonies as blasphemy. A number of studies confirm that individuals who self-identify with conservative religions report strongly negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians that are consistent with their churches' doctrinal positions (Bassett, Hodak, Allen & Bartos, 2000; Fulton, Gorsuch & Maynard, 1999; Heaven & Oxman, 1999; Laythe, Finkel & Kirkpatrick, 2001; Simoni, 1996).

Gender Role Identification

Participants completed the Levinson & Huffman (1955) Traditional Family Ideology scale to assess the degree to which they adhered to traditional gender role norms. This scale was chosen because its age was viewed as a strength: individuals who report support for gender role norms established in the 1950's are today unarguably categorized as supporting traditional societal gender role norms (Christie, 1991). A high score on this measure indicates strong adherence to traditional sex roles. Nine questions

were answered, with participants indicating their agreement on a 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) Likert-type scale. In the Traditional Family Ideology scale, coefficient alpha was computed to be .93.

Service Provider Performance Evaluation

The overall competence of the service provider was measured by combining responses to twelve questions that participants responded to after viewing the videotape. Responses were given on 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) Likert-type scales. Illustrative questions are, “The insurance agent didn’t know much about insurance options” (reverse-scored), and “If I were his customer, I would have been pleased with the agent’s performance.” Higher scores on this measure indicate more positive evaluations of service. Reliability for this scale was .87.

Desire to Engage Service Provider

Participants’ intentions to engage the services of this insurance agent were measured using the aggregate score on two items completed after the videotape was viewed. Again, each item was scored on a 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) Likert-type scale. The questions were, “I would want this agent to be my insurance agent” and “If this were my insurance agent, I would recommend him to a friend.” Higher scores on this measure indicate stronger intentions to engage the service provider. Alpha for these items was .87.

Perceptions of Provider’s Employer

After viewing the videotaped vignette, participants responded to the questions below using a 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) Likert-type scale to assess their perceptions of the organization that employed the insurance agent.

Commitment to Diversity

Perceptions of the employer's commitment to maintaining a diverse workforce was measured with two items: "The company that this agent works for would be a good place for women and minorities to work" and "The company that this agent works for does not value diversity in the workplace" (reverse-scored). Participants with high scores on this measure strongly believed that the employer was committed to diversity initiatives. Alpha for these items was .63.

Procedural Fairness

Perceptions of the fairness with which the employer dealt with its employees were measured using two items: "The company that this agent works for probably has unfair policies for hiring and recruiting people" (reverse-scored) and "The company that this agent works for probably treats its employees fairly." Higher scores indicate stronger perceptions of the company's procedural fairness. Alpha for these items was .63.

Desirability as an Employer

Participants' intentions to approach the organization as a potential employer were measured with two items: "I would like to work for the company that the agent works for" and "I would not work for any company that would hire and promote this insurance agent" (reverse-scored). Higher scores on this item reflect stronger attraction to the company as a potential employer. Alpha for these items was .58.

This chapter presented the research methodology used in Study 1. The results of this investigation are contained in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS OF STUDY 1

Means, standard deviations, and correlations of all variables are shown in Table 2. On the basis of their total scores, participants were divided into quadrants representing low (1), medium-low (2), medium-high (3), and high (4) scores on gender role identification. Similarly, I used a median split to identify participants that were (1) low and (2) high in heterosexism.

To ensure that participants in the three study conditions were essentially similar to one another, I conducted a within-and-between analysis of variance in each study condition using demographic variables of age and gender. Similarly, to confirm that differences in dependent measures were due to study manipulations, rather than pre-existing differences between the groups, I assessed variance in each study condition with regard to heterosexism, gender role identification, and conservative religious orientation. Results of the ANOVA, shown in Table 3, confirmed that the groups did not differ significantly from one another on any of these variables. Additionally, all participants in the control/no disclosure condition said the insurance agent was heterosexual, whereas those in the self-disclosure and third-party disclosure

Variable	Mean	s.d.	α	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1-Sex Role Identification	19.64	8.32	.93	-----						
2-Religious Involvement	3.10	1.52		.22*	-----					
3-Homosexism	102.74	28.58	.93	.51***	.36***	-----				
4-Performance Evaluation	66.79	7.43	.87	-.29***	.02	-.22***	-----			
5-Intent to Engage Provider	10.53	2.74	.87	-.36***	-.24**	.46***	.68***	-----		
6-Company Diversity	9.81	2.11	.63	-.09	.12	.10	.32***	.34***	-----	
7-Company Justice	10.62	2.20	.63	-.09	-.13	.17*	.41***	.36***	.62***	-----
8-Company Desirability	10.00	2.31	.58	-.24**	-.09	.16	.35***	.47***	.28**	.36***

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

*** $p \leq .001$

Table 2: Study 1: Means, Standard Deviations, Scale Reliabilities, and Intercorrelation of Variables

Source	Dependent Variable	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	Gender	2	.465	1.903	.153	.023
	Age	2	.047	.105	.900	.001
	Religious Involvement	2	1.16	1.211	.298	.015
	Gender Role Orientation	2	1.33	1.084	.341	.013
Error	Gender	161	.244			
	Age	161	.452			
	Religious Involvement	161	1.558			
	Gender Role Orientation	161	1.225			

Table 3: Study 1: Analysis of Variance in Participants' Demographic Differences by Study Condition

conditions said the agent was gay. I concluded that the manipulation of sexual orientation was successful.

Hypothesis 1a predicted that participants who viewed a homosexual service provider would provide higher performance ratings than would participants who viewed a heterosexual provider. ANOVA results indicated significant differences in service rating between study groups, $F(2, 223) = 19.27, p < .001, \eta^2 = .15$. Specifically, ratings were highest in the third-party disclosure condition ($M = 6.34, S.D. = .057, n = 74$), lowest in the control condition ($M = 5.65, S.D. = 1.02, n = 74$), and of intermediate value in the self-disclosure condition ($M = 6.33, S.D. = .068; n = 76$). I elected to use the Bonferroni post-hoc testing procedure because it is the most conservative of the available measures and thus best avoids Type I errors—an important consideration given the number of independent tests being conducted on the data. For this hypothesis, post hoc tests using the Bonferroni procedure (with alpha set at .05) revealed that this effect was the result of the tendency for significantly higher ratings to occur in the two disclosure conditions (which were not significantly different from one another) than in the control condition ($p < .001$).

Hypothesis 1b predicted that participants high in sexual prejudice would report lower performance evaluations of the gay service provider than would those low in heterosexism. An ANOVA investigating the effect of study condition and heterosexism did not reveal a significant interaction term, $F(2, 207) = .437, p = .646$; results of the test are shown in Table 4. This hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 1c predicted that participants with a strong conservative religious orientation would rate the gay service provider more negatively than would those without

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	2	13.69	22.95	.000	.186
Heterosexism	1	10.62	17.80	.000	.081
Condition x Religious Orientation	2	.261	.437	.646	.004
Total	207				

Table 4: Study 1: Analysis of Variance in Performance Ratings by Study Condition and Heterosexism

this religious orientation. An ANOVA was performed to determine the effect of study condition and religious orientation on overall service quality; results are shown in Table 5. The interaction term was not significant, $F(10, 169) = .89$, $p = .55$. Hypothesis 1c was not supported.

Hypothesis 1d predicted that participants high in traditional gender role identification would provide more negative ratings of a gay service provider than would those with low traditional gender role identification. An ANOVA was performed to investigate the effect of study condition and sex role orientation on overall service evaluation; results are shown in Table 6. The interaction term was significant, $F(6, 221) = 3.49$, $p = .003$, and descriptive statistics are noted in Table 7. Bonferroni post hoc tests ($\alpha = .05$) revealed that participants with high gender role identification provided significantly lower performance ratings only in the self-disclosure condition ($p < .001$). Results are presented graphically in Figure 4. This hypothesis was supported only for the self-disclosure condition.

Hypothesis 2a predicted that there would be a positive relationship between ratings of service provider competence and reported behavioral intention to approach that service provider. As noted in Table 2, the Pearson product moment correlation between these two items was significant and positive, $r = .34$, $p < .001$. This hypothesis was fully supported.

Hypothesis 2b predicted that participants high in heterosexism would report lower behavioral intentions to engage the gay service provider than would those low in heterosexism. An ANOVA investigating the effects of study condition and heterosexism

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>η^2</u>
Condition	2	.988	1.90	.153	.025
Religious Orientation	5	1.41	2.71	.153	.025
Condition x Religious Orientation	10	.462	.889	.545	.056
Total	169				

Table 5: Study 1: Analysis of Variance in Performance Ratings by Experimental Condition and Religious Orientation

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	2	10.52	20.30	.000	.163
Gender Role Identification	3	3.93	7.58	.000	.098
Condition x Gender Role	6	1.81	3.49	.003	.091
Total	221				

Table 6: Study 1: Analysis of Variance in Performance Ratings by Study Condition and Gender Role Identification

Condition	<u>Low Gender</u>			<u>Medium-Low Gender</u>			<u>Medium-High Gender</u>			<u>High Gender</u>		
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n
Self-Disclosure	6.57	.39	18	5.36	1.19	23	5.33	1.04	14	5.35	.65	16
3 rd Party Disclosure	6.40	.94	10	6.57	.48	23	6.22	.45	20	6.17	.48	21
Control	6.53	.64	25	6.42	.64	12	6.32	.68	19	6.05	.72	20

Table 7: Study 1: Performance Rating Scores by Study Condition and Gender Role Identification

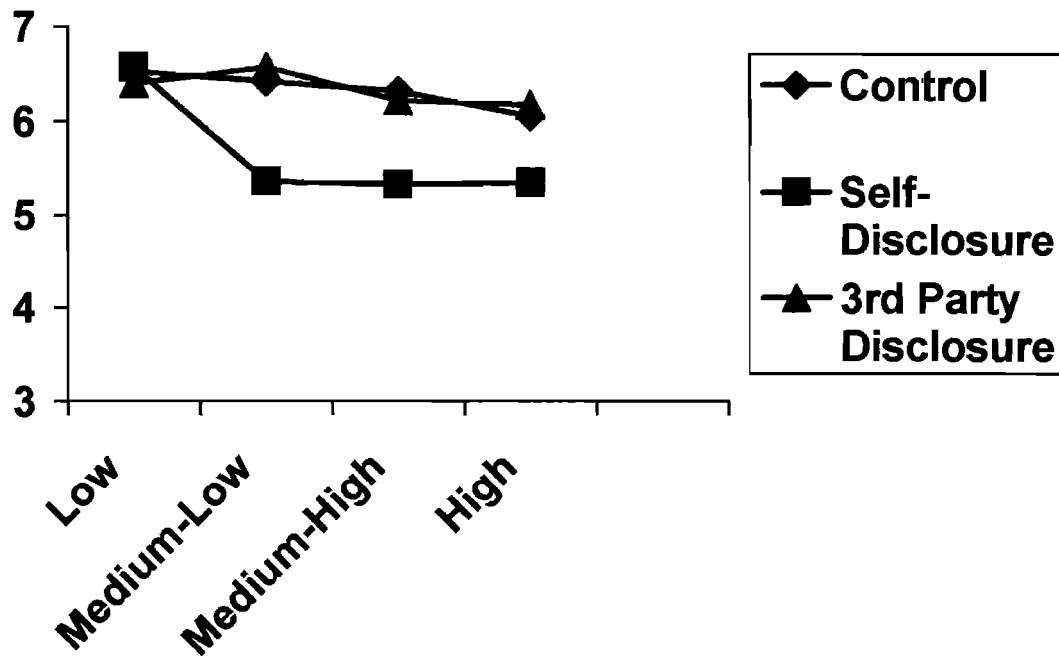


Figure 4: Study 2: Interaction Between Gender Role Identification and Study Condition on Performance Rating Scores

on behavioral intention to engage the provider showed a non-significant interaction term, $F(2, 207) = 1.97$; $p = .143$; results are presented in Table 8. This hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 2c predicted that participants with a strong conservative religious orientation would report lower behavioral intentions to engage the services of a gay service provider than would participants without this religious orientation. I again performed an ANOVA to determine the effect of study condition and religious orientation on behavioral intentions to engage the service provider; results are shown in Table 9. The interaction term was not significant, $F(10, 170) = 1.40$; $p = .19$. This hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 2d predicted that participants with a strong gender role orientation would report lower behavioral intentions to engage a gay service provider than would participants with weaker gender role orientation. I performed an ANOVA to investigate the effect of study condition and gender role orientation on behavioral intentions to engage the service provider. The interaction term was not significant, $F(6, 222) = 1.71$; $p = .12$; results are shown in Table 10. This hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 3a predicted that participants in the disclosure conditions would rate the hiring organization as more diversity-friendly than would those in the control condition. ANOVA results indicated a difference between study groups, $F(2, 222) = 17.72$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .139$. Post hoc tests using the Bonferroni procedure (with alpha set at .05) revealed that only participants in the self-disclosure condition ($M = 5.34$, $S.D. = 1.05$, $n = 77$) rated the company's commitment to diversity significantly higher than did

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	2	18.61	13.06	.000	.115
Heterosexism	1	66.19	46.46	.000	.188
Condition x Heterosexism	2	2.80	1.97	.143	.019
Total	207				

Table 8: Study 1: Analysis of Variance in Behavioral Intentions to Engage Service Provider by Study Condition and Heterosexism

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	2	.593	.395	.674	.005
Religious Orientation	5	5.38	3.59	.004	.106
Condition x Religious Orientation	10	2.09	1.40	.187	.084
Total	170				

Table 9: Study 1: Analysis of Variance in Behavioral Intentions to Engage Service Provider by Study Condition and Religious Orientation

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	2	12.26	8.58	.000	.950
Gender Role Identification	3	20.62	14.24	.000	.171
Condition x Gender Role	6	2.45	1.71	.120	.047
Total	222				

Table 10: Study 1: Analysis of Variance in Behavioral Intentions to Engage Service Provider by Study Condition and Gender Role Identification

those in the control ($M = 4.42$, $S.D. = .80$, $n = 72$, $p = .003$) and third-party disclosure ($M = 4.68$, $S.D. = 1.05$, $n = 74$, $p = .012$) conditions. There was no significant difference between the control and third-party disclosure conditions on this variable. Hypothesis 3a was supported only for the self-disclosure condition.

Hypothesis 3b predicted a positive correlation between the perception of a company's commitment to diversity and ratings of perceived procedural justice. As noted in Table 2, the Pearson product moment correlation between variables 6 and 7 of $r = .62$ was significant ($p < .001$), demonstrating support for this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3c predicted a positive correlation between ratings of procedural justice and desire to pursue employment with the organization. Again, as noted in Table 2, the Pearson product moment correlation between variables 7 and 8 of $r = .45$ was also significant ($p < .001$). Hypothesis 3c was supported.

Hypothesis 3d proposed a test of the model shown in Figure 3, indicating that perceptions of procedural justice would mediate the relationship between perceptions of a company as diversity-friendly and desire to work for the company. Baron and Kenny (1986) recommended that three regression equations be analyzed to test for mediation. Consistent with this approach, I estimated three regression equations: first, regressing the mediator (justice perceptions) on the independent variable (diversity perceptions); second, regressing the dependent variable (company desirability) on the independent variable (diversity perceptions); and third, regressing the dependent variable (company desirability) on both the independent variable (diversity perceptions) and the mediator (justice perceptions). Results are shown in Table 11. Baron and Kenny (1986) further suggest that the following conditions must be met to establish evidence of mediation.

Equation 1: Regression of Justice Perceptions on Diversity Perceptions

	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>β</u>
Diversity	.643	.055	.621***

Equation 2: Regression of Company Desirability on Diversity Perceptions

	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>β</u>
Diversity	.421	.068	.386***

Equation 3: Regression of Company Desirability on Diversity Perceptions and Justice Perceptions

	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>β</u>
Diversity	.212	.083	.195*
Justice	.324	.080	.309**

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 11: Study 1: Regression Analysis of Justice Perceptions' Mediating Role in the Relationship Between Perceptions that a Company is Committed to Diversity and Desirability of that Company as an Employer

First, the independent variable must affect the mediator in the first equation. This condition was met ($\beta = .621$; $p < .001$). Second, the independent variable must affect the dependent variable in the second equation. This condition was also met ($\beta = .386$; $p < .001$). Third, the mediator must affect the dependent variable in the third equation. This condition was also met ($\beta = .309$; $p < .001$). Finally, the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable should be less in the third equation than in the second. As Table 13 reveals, the effect of diversity perceptions on company desirability declined from $\beta = .386$ in Equation 2 to $\beta = .195$ in Equation 3. I concluded that justice perceptions did mediate the relationship between diversity perceptions and company desirability, and that this hypothesis was supported.

Hypothesis 3e predicted that participants high in heterosexism would report less desire to seek employment with an organization employing a gay service provider than would participants low in heterosexism. An ANOVA was performed to determine the effect of study condition and heterosexism on perceptions of the company as a desirable employer, results are shown in Table 12. The interaction term was not significant, $F(2, 207) = 1.58$, $p = .208$. This hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 3f predicted that participants with a strong conservative religious orientation would report less desire to seek employment with an organization hiring a gay service provider than would participants with a weak or no religious orientation. An ANOVA was performed to examine the effect of study condition and religious orientation on perceptions of the company as a desirable employer, results are shown in Table 13. The interaction term was significant, $F(10, 169) = 2.46$; $p = .010$; descriptive statistics are provided in Table 14 and results are presented graphically in Figure 5.

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	2	11.74	10.48	.000	.094
Heterosexism	1	26.95	24.06	.000	.107
Condition x Heterosexism	2	1.77	1.58	.208	.016
Total	207				

Table 12: Study 1: Analysis of Variance in Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Heterosexism

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	2	1.08	.884	.415	.012
Religious Orientation	5	.996	.819	.538	.026
Condition x Religious Orientation	10	2.99	2.45	.010	.140
Total	169				

Table 13: Study 1: Analysis of Variance in Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Religious Orientation

Condition	Religious Orientation	M	SD	n
Control	1	5.63	1.09	8
	2	4.56	1.00	25
	3	3.80	1.15	5
	4	4.50	.41	4
	5	4.50	1.00	3
	6	5.50		1
Self-Disclosure	1	6.08	1.16	6
	2	4.90	.85	21
	3	5.72	1.23	9
	4	5.10	.89	5
	5	5.00	1.49	15
	6	4.10	1.64	5
3 rd Party Disclosure	1	4.50	2.17	8
	2	5.57	.74	28
	3	5.12	.95	8
	4	5.61	.74	9
	5	5.00	1.09	6
	6	4.33	.58	3

Table 14: Study 1: Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Religious Orientation

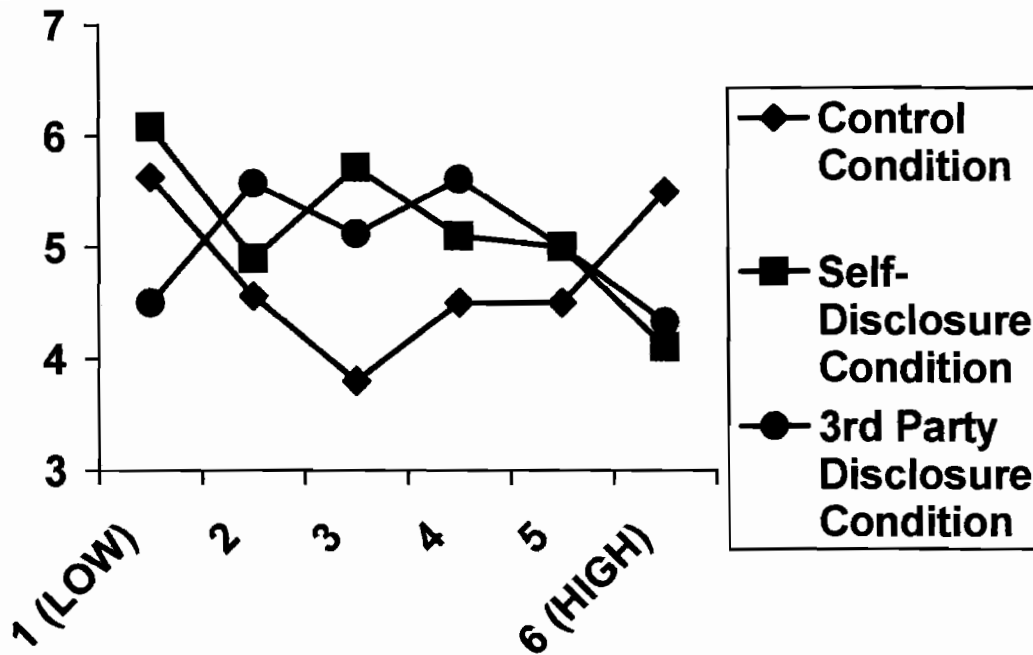


Figure 5: Study 2: Interaction Between Conservative Religious Orientation and Study Condition on Desire to Work for Company Employing a Gay or Lesbian Service Provider

Bonferroni post hoc tests ($\alpha = .05$) revealed that, in both conditions where the service provider was gay, desire to pursue employment with the company declined as religious involvement increased. Participants in the two highest religious involvement categories rated the company as significantly less desirable than those in the control group in the self-disclosure ($p = .005$) and third-party disclosure ($p = .033$) conditions. This hypothesis was supported.

Hypothesis 3g predicted that participants with strong gender role identification would rate a company employing a gay service provider as a less desirable employer than would participants with weak gender role identification. An ANOVA was performed to determine the effect of study condition and gender role identification on behavioral intentions to pursue employment with the organization; results are presented in Table 16. The interaction term was not significant, $F(6, 221) = 1.64$; $p = .137$. Hypothesis 3g was not supported.

This chapter provided a summary of the results found in Study 1. The following chapter concludes this section with a discussion of the implications of these findings.

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	2	9.74	9.30	.000	.082
Gender Role Identification	3	13.07	12.49	.000	.152
Condition x Gender Role	6	1.72	1.64	.137	.045
Total	221				

Table 15: Study 1: Analysis of Variance in Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Gender Role Identification

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS OF STUDY 1

A summary of the results for each hypothesis tested in this study is provided in Appendix C. In terms of participants' evaluation of work performance, the out-group extremity bias hypothesis was supported: Participants evaluated a gay male service provider more positively than an identically-performing heterosexual service provider, regardless of how they learned of his sexual orientation. However, heterosexuals who strongly identified with their gender role appraised the gay provider's performance as inferior to the heterosexual provider's when same-sex orientation was self-disclosed; the disclosure of this orientation by a third party did not affect the ratings of this group of participants. Religious in-group affiliation and reported heterosexism had no bearing on participants' performance evaluations. Although the inflation of the gay service provider's performance ratings is evidence of differentiation on the basis of sexual orientation, it appears that the "norm to be kind" found in investigations of performance evaluations of people with disabilities also operated here. Only participants whose gender role identity was threatened by the direct disclosure of the agent's homosexuality responded with lower performance appraisals. For other evaluators, the absence of personal risk or cost to the evaluation resulted in inflated evaluations for the gay service provider.

In this study, regardless of their in-group affiliations, heterosexual participants reported willingness to engage the services of a competent gay male insurance agent. Neither conservative religious orientation, heterosexism, nor gender role identification affected this willingness. These results suggest that most people are somewhat pragmatic regarding their service providers: Competence and skill of the provider appear to be more important considerations than perceived similarity or liking between the customer and the provider. It is likely that social identity is not sufficiently threatened in this type of service relationship to prompt out-group discriminatory behaviors. Still, this finding calls into question research suggesting that the affective quality of service relationships is equally important to the perceived quality of service provided.

Finally, when asked to rate a company's desirability as a potential employer on the basis of a gay male representative, only participants with a strong conservative religious orientation provided markedly lower ratings. This provides support for the position that joining an organization is viewed as a public expression of agreement with its values. Individuals who prize the in-group ties they have established within a conservative religious community are not likely to risk weakening those relationships by publicly supporting an organization whose values are not consistent with those of the religious group. However, neither heterosexism nor gender role identification affected participants' ratings of the company's desirability as an employer. Again, this seems to suggest that most people are primarily concerned with joining an organization where they will be treated well, whereas other identity concerns are secondary. Heterosexism and gender role orientation had no effect on participants' expressed perceptions of the organization as a potential employer.

This study also confirmed the mediating role of justice perceptions between recruits' belief that a company is committed to diversity and their desire to pursue employment with that organization. It appears that diversity initiatives do communicate a company's intention to treat all employees fairly, and that this facilitates perceptions that the company is an attractive employer. However, it is noteworthy that the attribution of a company as diversity-friendly was enhanced only when the service provider self-disclosed his sexual orientation, and not when the orientation was disclosed by a third party. It is likely that a service provider's decision to "come out" in a service relationship demonstrates confidence in his/her employer's commitment to non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (Day & Schoenrade, 1997). Customers who view an employee readily self-disclosing a same-sex orientation may view the company as providing policies that protect all employees from discrimination and harassment. But, if a customer learns that a service provider is homosexual from a third party, rather than from the provider, the opposite attribution could be made. Here, the customer may decide that the company is less friendly, or even unfriendly, to diversity because the service provider is uncomfortable making this disclosure.

This finding highlights another important consideration regarding sexual orientation as the basis for in-group/out-group distinctions. Customers who interact with gay men and lesbians in service relationships are not likely to assume that their providers have a same-sex orientation unless those providers overtly act in a manner that violates traditional gender role norms. Consequently, in order for gay or lesbian service providers to be salient members of non-heterosexual out-groups, it is usually necessary for them to disclose their sexual orientation in some way. In this manner, sexual orientation differs

from visible aspects of difference such as race, age, and gender that are traditionally viewed as in-group/out-group dividing lines. Complicating this reality is the fact that most gay men and lesbians can choose when to disclose their sexual orientation and when to keep it hidden. Indeed, most gay people “pass” as heterosexual some or most of the time. However, these results suggest that the direct approach—“coming out”—has a number of benefits in the service context. First, customers are not likely to end service relationships when they learn of their provider’s sexual orientation if they are already pleased with the quality of the service provided. Second, most customers’ evaluations of the provider’s performance may be enhanced. Finally, and most directly, customers will attribute a commitment to diversity and fair management procedures to the organization employing the service provider.

Implications

These results confirm that heterosexuals do not react uniformly to gay men and lesbians as members of minority out-groups. Social identity theory’s prediction that self-categorization into a salient in-group prompts prejudice and discrimination against out-group members is not well supported. Indeed, in this study, membership in an in-group known to be traditionally threatened by gay men and lesbians was not a particularly robust indication of a person’s reactions to a threatening out-group member. While the self-categorization tenets of social identity theory are useful tools to explain the processes by which social identities are developed, predicting behaviors consistent with those in-group identities is complicated. Indeed, this study lends support to the theoretical perspective proposed in Chapter 1 that incorporates the functional perspective of attitudes into the traditional social identity theory viewpoint. In Study 2, I will compare the

predictive utility of attitude functions against that of salient in-group memberships to determine if this new theoretical perspective does in fact enhance our understanding of heterosexuals' reactions to gay men.

Practically, the implications of this research are twofold. First, in order to fully benefit from diversity management programs that include sexual orientation, companies need to have workers who are openly out at work. Even if customers know that an employee is gay and is treated well by the organization, they will not perceive the company as diversity-friendly unless gay and lesbian employees feel comfortable expressing their same-sex identity in the workplace. This suggests that organizations need not just to implement policies banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, but to ensure that work climates are friendly to gay and lesbian people. It appears that the “don't ask/don't tell” policy on sexual orientation embraced by the U.S. military and other conservative institutions would not be perceived as a true commitment to diversity by outside observers. In order for a company's unwillingness to discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation to be perceived as legitimate, gay and lesbian members of that organization need to feel free to “tell” others—including their customers—who they really are.

Second, this research suggests that companies' publicized statements of commitment to diversity are seen as evidence of fair human resource management procedures, and that through the mechanism of fairness perceptions these policies render the organization more attractive in the eyes of some potential recruits. However, organizations do need to recognize that, when they adopt these policies, they run the risk of alienating some potential employees who are threatened by gay men and lesbians.

Although the value of a diverse workforce cannot be overstated, companies ought to recognize both the positive and negative ramifications of their diversity management programs.

Limitations

As with any study conducted in the context of a University laboratory, questions of generalization and external validity must be acknowledged at this stage. Participants' evaluations were made in a hypothetical context, where they experienced no real social cost as a result of their reactions. It is likely that participants actually engaged in a service relationship would react to the disclosure of same-sex orientation differently. This question will be addressed in Study 3, reported in Chapter 4.

Second, some of the independent variables in the study were highly correlated, suggesting a possible problem with multicollinearity. For example, heterosexism and gender role identification were positively and significantly correlated at $r = .51$; $p < .001$, while heterosexism and conservative religious orientation were positively and significantly correlated at $r = .36$; $p < .01$. However, none of these correlations reached the threshold of positive correlation at $r = .80$ or above that should result in combining or eliminating the variables from the study. Furthermore, multicollinearity should make it more, rather than less, difficult to obtain significant results using the intercorrelated variables in an ANOVA procedure. In essence, the correlation of these variables results in a more conservative test of the hypotheses.

Third, this interaction between a gay male insurance agent and a female customer operationalizes interaction between gays and heterosexuals in a relatively benign context. Other effects of relational context need to be more fully explored. Future research should

examine the nature of the threat that gay men and lesbians are perceived to exude based on physical proximity and the likelihood of personal touch. The insurance agent scenario used in this study is relatively impersonal in that it does not involve physical contact between service provider and customer. Other service relationships, such as those with a personal physical fitness trainer or medical professional, would involve physical touch in addition to interpersonal disclosure. Service context places an important boundary condition on the generalization of these findings, since more intimate service relationships are likely to be viewed differently than the one used in this study. The effects of context will be further explored in Studies 2 and 3, reported in Sections 3 and 4, respectively.

Similarly, the effects of the disclosure of homosexuality could vary depending on the gender of the customer receiving the disclosure. It is likely that same-sex customer/provider dyads provide a different context for such a disclosure that could prompt very different observer reactions. For example, since males are known to be generally less tolerant of homosexuality and perceive gay males are more deviant than lesbians, the disclosure of homosexual orientation in a male-male dyad could be viewed significantly more negatively than the male-female disclosure scenario used in this study. Again, these issues will be explored in Studies 2 and 3.

SECTION 3

STUDY 2

CHAPTER 7

BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT FOR STUDY 2

As Study 1 demonstrated, social identity theory alone is a largely insufficient predictor of heterosexist thoughts and deeds. In Chapter 2, I suggested that the functional perspective of attitudes has the potential to provide additional insight into why sexual prejudice occurs, and may also enhance the predictive utility of social identity theory in this context. The functional perspective suggests that mere membership in an in-group that is traditionally threatened by gay men and lesbians does not necessarily prompt heterosexist attitudes and behaviors. Instead, it is likely that only those heterosexuals whose attitudes toward gays and lesbians serve to reaffirm either their personal sense of identity or their membership in a valued social group will be prone to sexual prejudice and discrimination. One important purpose of Study 2 was to directly investigate this claim by replicating the investigations in Study 1 with additional measures of attitude function.

Additionally, to form a more complete picture of heterosexuals' reactions to gay and lesbian service providers, it is necessary to consider the social contexts of their interactions. Consequently, another purpose of Study 2 was to introduce contextual variables that may affect heterosexuals' interactions with gay and lesbian service providers. This chapter begins with presentation of new hypotheses related to the

functional perspective of attitudes and the social context of service interactions. Then, in Chapters 8 and 9, I report the methodology and results of Study 2, a laboratory-based replication of Study 1 that expanded both the kinds of services offered and the genders of the customer/provider dyads. This section ends with a discussion of the findings, implications, and limitations of this research in Chapter 10.

Functional Perspective of Attitudes

As noted in Chapter 2, two attitude functions have received particular attention in investigations of prejudice and discrimination toward out-group members: the value-expressive function and the defensive function. In theory, attitudes that serve a value-expressive function allow people to express their sense of self and achieve consistency between publicly expressed attitudes/behaviors and privately held values and beliefs (Katz, 1960). These attitudes have valence because they allow people to express core values that are perceived as central to both personal identity and in-group relations (Fazio, 2000). Research has demonstrated that value-expressive attitudes are especially resistant to attack (Johnson & Eagly, 1989; Maio & Olson, 1995) and are highly likely to prompt consistent behaviors (Lydon & Zanna, 1990; Murray, Haddock & Zanna, 1996). Moreover, because value-expressive attitudes are usually highly specific, they reflect people's most cherished values (Maio & Olson, 2000).

Attitudes that serve a defensive function are similarly rooted in self-concept and wedded to personal identity. However, rather than expressing closely-held personal values, these attitudes defend the self against internal conflict (Katz, 1960). For example, a social scientist who reads a newspaper editorial arguing that social science only confirms the obvious will likely react to that article defensively in an attempt to preserve

a positive sense of professional identity (Levin, Nichols & Johnson, 2000). These attitudes prompt behaviors that are self-affirming and self-validating. The intensity of these attitudes depends on the degree to which they are ego-involved, or in other words, how central they are to an individual's sense of personal identity (Levin et al., 2000). Rather than expressing personal values, ego-defensive attitudes serve to protect one's self-esteem.

Because of their personal importance, value-expressive and ego-defensive attitudes tend to be accessed and expressed more often than other types of attitudes (Fazio, 1995, 2000). Consequently, because they are readily cognitively accessible, these attitudes are often used to process visual cues (Roskos-Ewoldsen & Fazio, 1992), direct attention to particular components of a situation (Smith, Fazio & Cejka, 1996), and guide individual decision-making (Blascovich, Ernst, Tomaka, Kelsey, Salomon & Fazio, 1993). For example, a customer encountering an African-American, female cashier could be conscious of her race, gender, or occupation/role. A customer with strong value-expressive or ego-defensive attitudes relating to race or gender is likely to view the cashier first in those terms, with less attention paid to the occupational role. On the other hand, someone without strong race or gender-related attitudes will focus more closely on the cashier's fulfillment of role-related duties (Fazio, 2000; Fazio & Dunton, 1997). Consequently, ego-defensive and/or value-expressive attitudes play a relatively large role in how people see and evaluate their environments. The effect of attitude functions on the evaluation process is discussed in the next section.

Attitude Functions and Service Provider Evaluations

In addition to preserving an individual's sense of personal values and self-worth, value-expressive and ego-defensive attitudes also aid in evaluation of target objects by offering a categorization system in which objects are either consistent (positive) or inconsistent (negative) with important values (Fazio, Chen, McDonel & Sherman, 1982). Previous research has demonstrated that strong value-expressive and ego-defensive attitudes have a significant natural effect on the object evaluation process because they are so readily cognitive accessible (Bargh, Chaiken, Govender & Pratto, 1992; Bassili, 1996; Fazio, Blascovich & Driscoll, 1992). This subconscious biasing effect of functional attitudes is more pronounced as the accessibility of attitudes increases (Houston & Fazio, 1989; Schuette & Fazio, 1995).

Many studies have confirmed that functional attitudes bias the processing and judgment of performance. For example, readers' evaluations of the relative methodological strength of two purported scientific studies concerning the deterrent capabilities of the death penalty varied as a function of the readers' attitudes toward the death penalty (Lord, Ross & Lepper, 1979). Additionally, Fazio and Williams' (1986) investigation of the 1984 presidential election revealed a relationship between attitudes toward the candidates and judgments of the quality of candidates' performance during the national televised debates – a relationship that increased as attitude accessibility increased. These and other findings attest to the powerful influence of ego-defensive and value-expressive attitudes on performance perceptions (e.g., Cooper & Aronson, 1992; Zanna, 1993).

So, to the extent that they are accessible from memory, heterosexist attitudes that serve a value-expressive and/or ego-defensive function will likely result in negative evaluations of gay men's and lesbians' performance. As in the example of the female African-American cashier noted above, a gay or lesbian service provider's sexual orientation is likely to be most salient to observers with strongly-held heterosexist attitudes that serve a value-expressive or ego-defensive function. Consequently, evaluations of that service provider are likely to be strongly influenced by pre-existing heterosexist attitudes, despite the actual quality of service provided.

Hypothesis 1e: Heterosexuals' performance ratings of a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by the function of their heterosexist attitudes, such that those whose attitudes serve an ego-defensive or value-expressive function will rate the provider less positively than will those whose attitudes do not serve these functions.

Attitude Functions and Service Provider Selection

One arena in which attitude functions manifest themselves quite strikingly is that of consumer psychology. Consumers often evaluate products and make purchasing decisions on the basis of how the product is perceived to comply with and/or enhance their sense of personal identity (DeBono, 2000; Erickson, Johansson & Chao, 1984). Previous research has focused on attitudes toward product attributes such as country of origin (Harris, Garner, Sprick & Carroll, 1994; Hastak & Hong, 1991), appearance and packaging (Dawar & Parker, 1994), and attractiveness of the spokesperson (DeBono & Telesca, 1990). In each case, ego-defensive or value-expressive attitudes influenced both consumers' evaluations of the product and their reported intentions to purchase it. In his review of this literature, DeBono (2000) concluded that consumers who use their ego-

defensive or value-expressive attitudes as evaluative tools are highly concerned with the potential of a product to enhance or promote their desired self-image. In fact, DeBono concluded that these individuals used information about a product's image "much more so than they used a product's performance in their evaluations. In general, products that could be construed as image enhancing were perceived as good; those not to construed were perceived as less desirable" (2000, p. 216). Only products perceived as desirable were likely to be purchased.

Although past research has not examined service providers directly, we can draw enough parallels between consumer products and consumer services to determine that ego-defensive and value-expressive functional attitudes are likely to have similar influences on both the desire to purchase products and the desire to engage services. As noted in Chapter 2, consumers seek and prefer service relationships that meet both pragmatic and social needs. The intangible elements of the personal relationship between service provider and customer are important sources of customer satisfaction with services (Guttek, 1995); one of those elements is the degree to which the relationship boosts the customer's sense of well-being and self-esteem. Choosing to interact with a gay or lesbian service provider would contradict heterosexist attitudes that serve value-expressive or ego-defensive functions. Since one of the key purposes of these attitudes is to strengthen and enhance self-esteem and personal identity, it is unlikely that contradicting them by engaging a gay or lesbian service provider would be perceived as a satisfying personal service relationship. Consequently, individuals whose attitudes toward gays and lesbians serve these functions are unlikely to desire service relationships with homosexual service providers.

Hypothesis 2e: Heterosexuals' desire to engage a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by the function of their heterosexist attitudes, such that those whose attitudes serve an ego-defensive or value-expressive function will report lower desire to engage the provider than will those whose attitudes do not serve these functions.

Attitude Functions and Company Perceptions

One of the fundamental assumptions of functional theory is that people often hold or express their attitudes and preferences in order to communicate something about themselves to other people (Katz, 1960; Smith, Bruner & White, 1956). This social identity role of attitudes has primarily been investigated in terms of the persuasiveness of appeals targeted at that function (Shavitt, 1989). For example, studies have consistently shown that, for attitudes that serve ego-defensive and/or value-expressive functions, social image appeals, status appeals, and other strategies that are consistent with the attitudes are particularly persuasive (e.g., Shavitt, 1990; Snyder & DeBono, 1985, 1987).

As noted in Chapter 2, the decision to join an organization is a response to persuasive messages about the desirability of the company as a potential employer. People choose employment on the basis of their perception of “fit” between their goals and objectives and the attributes of the company (Riordan, Weatherly, Vandenberg & Self, 2001). Because of the incompatibility between strongly-held heterosexist attitudes and a company's stated support of gays and lesbians in the workplace, potential employees who rely on heterosexist attitudes as a statement of personal values or identity are not likely to be positively persuaded that gay-friendly companies will provide a work environment in which they “fit.”

Hypothesis 3h: Heterosexuals' perceptions of the desirability of joining a company employing a gay or lesbian representative will be moderated by the function of their heterosexist attitudes, such that those whose attitudes serve an ego-defensive or value-expressive function will rate the company as less desirable than will those whose attitudes do not serve these functions.

Social Context of Service Interactions

Results from Study 1 indicated that most heterosexual customers responded positively to a gay insurance agent who provided excellent service to his customer, indicating both acknowledgement of his performance prowess and desire to engage him as an insurance agent. Similarly, the company employing the gay insurance agent was viewed as a desirable employer because its fair treatment of an openly gay employee sent the message to potential recruits that the organization treated all employees fairly. I test these hypotheses again in Study 2.

Study 2 provides more than a mere replication of Study 1. In addition to re-testing hypotheses presented in Chapter 3, Study 2 will add additional depth and complexity to this investigation. First, I will replicate the testing of hypotheses from Study 1 by comparing lesbian service providers to heterosexual female service providers in order to determine differences in heterosexuals' reactions to each of gay men and lesbians. Second, since Study 1 focused on a service relationship between a male insurance agent and a female customer, I will further expand this investigation by examining the effect of heterosexual orientation disclosures in same-gender customer-provider dyads. Finally, the insurance agent scenario used in Study 1 is a relatively non-intimate context, in which customers would not expect intimate touching from their

service provider. I will also examine the effect of a more intimate service context on these findings. All hypotheses presented in Study 1 will be retested in Study 2. Additional hypotheses suggested by the addition of the variables noted above are addressed in the following sections.

Gay Men vs. Lesbians

Although very few studies have differentiated between prejudicial attitudes toward gay men and those toward lesbians, the limited research that does exist suggests that prejudiced heterosexuals have stronger negative reactions to gay men than to lesbians. The most commonly-accepted rationale for this difference is rooted in heterosexuals' reactions to gay men and lesbians as violators of traditional gender roles and norms. As noted in Chapter 3, one of the most common explanations of heterosexism is that gay men and lesbians are viewed negatively because they violate traditional gender role norms. A significant amount of research confirms that gender role norms are more rigidly defined for men than for women (for a review, see Hort, Fagot & Leinbach, 1990). Consequently, violations of gender role norms, such as the acknowledgement of a same-sex orientation, are viewed as more serious for men than for women (Herek, 1986; Stockard & Johnson, 1979). Research supports the notion that heterosexuals generally view lesbianism as a less serious gender role violation than same-sex behavior between men (Deaux & Lewis, 1984).

Consistent with this view, research demonstrates that heterosexuals react more negatively to males who possess feminine traits than to females who possess masculine traits (Feinman, 1974). Although heterosexuals do generally believe that lesbians possess masculine tendencies (Storms, Stivers, Lambers, & Hill, 1981), this gender role violation

is not perceived negatively by most heterosexuals, largely because women's gender roles have significantly expanded in the past 50 years of American history (Page & Yee, 1985). Additionally, heterosexual men's higher levels of tolerance for lesbians over gay men may be colored by a perceived eroticism associated with female-female sex. Nyberg and Alston (1977) found that more than one-third of the men they surveyed agreed with the statement that "women making love to women is an erotic act." So, while it is likely that heterosexism toward gay men and toward lesbians are related attitudes, research supports the contention that heterosexuals will generally view lesbians more positively than they view gay men.

Hypothesis 4: Heterosexuals will report stronger heterosexist attitudes toward gay men than they will toward lesbians.

Gender of Customer/Provider Dyad

One component of context that often enters into individuals' evaluation of gay men or lesbians is gender. People usually report more prejudice toward gay people of their own gender, such that female heterosexuals report more positive attitudes toward gay males than toward lesbians, and male heterosexuals report more positive attitudes toward lesbians than toward gay males (Herek, 1987, 1988; Kite, 1984, 1993; Milham, San Miguel & Kellogg, 1976). I should note that, although this finding is relatively robust, males still have stronger and deeper negative attitudes toward homosexuality generally than do women (Blumenfeld & Raymond, 1988). Presumably, this difference occurs because heterosexuals are more threatened by similar others who are perceived as violating sex role norms (Kite, 1994), and/or because heterosexuals are more likely to feel threatened by gay men and lesbians when they view themselves as "sexual prey" for

homosexuals of their same gender (Herek, 1988). Based on this research, it is logical to assume that heterosexuals would prefer to develop service relationships with homosexual providers of the opposite gender, and eschew relationships with homosexual providers of the same gender.

Hypothesis 5: Heterosexuals will be more likely to desire service relationships with homosexual providers of a different gender, such that heterosexual men will prefer relationships with lesbians and heterosexual women will prefer relationships with gays.

Social Intimacy

Another component of context that has essentially been ignored in research on heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians is the social context of their anticipated or actual interaction. As Plasek and Allard (1984) noted, most studies of attitudes toward homosexuality do not investigate the whether responses are stable across social situations. These researchers concluded, "One of the primary tasks of future research should be to chart variations in attitudes toward homosexuality within the various social contexts in which they occur" (1984, p. 31). Unfortunately, modern researchers have largely ignored this call.

So, rather than relying on previous research to guide this portion of the investigation, we must turn to what we speculate based on theory and logic. It is likely that interactions with gay men or lesbians will be viewed as more or less threatening depending on the level of physical intimacy involved in the interaction (San Miguel & Milham, 1976). Previous research has demonstrated that men are generally uncomfortable with same-sex touch, largely because of its potential homoerotic nature (Monroe, Baker & Roll, 1997; Roese, Olson, Borenstein & Martin, 1992). Similarly,

other studies have revealed that both heterosexual men and women view male-male tactile content as highly inappropriate (Derluga, Catanzaro & Lewis, 2001), largely because of heterosexist attitudes toward gay men (Floyd, 2000). Any prejudice toward gay men or lesbians that heterosexuals might possess becomes more salient when they believe that they will have physical contact, usually operationalized as conversation, with a homosexual (Larsen et al., 1980; Monteith, Devine & Zuwerink, 1993). From these findings, I conclude that heterosexuals would perceive contact with a gay man or lesbian to be more threatening when that contact involves personal touch, and conclude that the intimacy of the service context would additionally influence heterosexuals' desire for service relationships with gay or lesbian service providers.

Hypothesis 6: Heterosexuals will be more likely to desire service relationships with gay or lesbian service providers in non-intimate contexts, and less likely to desire such relationships in intimate contexts.

This chapter presented new hypotheses suggested by the incorporation of the functional perspective of attitudes into social identity theory's predictions regarding interactions between heterosexual customers and gay or lesbian service providers. In the following chapter, I present information about the research methodology used to investigate these hypotheses in Study 2.

CHAPTER 8

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY USED IN STUDY 2

This chapter begins with a discussion of the participants in Study 2. I then provide information about the design of this study, which included sixteen conditions in which the gender of the customer/provider dyad, the intimacy of the service context, and the sexual orientation of the service provider were each manipulated. I conclude with a discussion of the measurement tools used in this investigation.

Participants

Participants in Study Two were 1,021 undergraduates enrolled in business courses at The Ohio State University (OSU) and Indiana University-Bloomington (IU). Students were recruited from the following courses at OSU ($n = 682$): Introduction to Organizational Behavior, Introduction to International Business, and Introduction to Marketing. At IU, students came from the following courses ($n = 339$): Managing and Organizational Behavior, Business and Professional Communication, Business Communication, and Listening Dynamics in Business. All students received roughly the same amount of class credit (either regular course credit or extra credit) for their participation.

Seventeen respondents (1.7%) self-reported a gay, lesbian, or bisexual orientation. These individuals were removed from subsequent analyses. Eight surveys were also

determined to be either largely incomplete or illegible and were also removed from subsequent analyses. Of the remaining participants ($n = 996$), 55.8% were male. The majority (65.4%) were between the ages of 21 and 23, and 75.1% were Caucasian/White.

Design

Study 2 incorporated all possible gender combinations of customer-service provider dyads, and used two different service contexts (personal physical fitness trainer and insurance agent). The result was a 2 (trainer/insurance agent) by 2 (disclosure/no disclosure) by 4 (male-male, male-female, female-male, female-female) study design with 16 between-participant conditions.

The third party disclosure condition used in Study 1 was eliminated from this study. Study 1 results demonstrated that the attitude-behavior relationships under scrutiny were most robust in the self-disclosure conditions. Additionally, I chose to eliminate this condition to ensure that enough participants were assigned to the disclosure/no disclosure conditions to attain sufficient statistical power to analyze the hypotheses.

Procedure

Students signed up individually to participate in one of 76 study sessions held outside of class time. They participated in groups of 6-22. Upon arrival, participants were seated at tables. They were told that the purpose of the study was to evaluate the communication choices made by service providers in service relationships, and given a brief description of a service relationship. Then, each participant was given an individual questionnaire to assess independent variables and collect demographic information. A copy of the questionnaire is included as Appendix D.

Once all participants had completed the questionnaire, I provided the group with fictional background information about the service provider, both verbally and in writing. The information was provided from the same script used for the self-disclosure and control conditions in Study 1.

Participants then viewed videotape in which the sexual orientation of the service provider was manipulated. After seeing the videotape, participants completed a second questionnaire with manipulation checks and dependent measures; this is included as Appendix E. Once these were completed and collected, I thanked the participants and debriefed them as to the purpose of the study. Each participant was given a slip of paper with information allowing them to contact me or the Principal Investigator of the study if they had comments or desired further information. After confirming each participant's attendance to ensure that they received course credit for their participation, I dismissed the entire group.

To ensure realism in the acted scenarios, I again relied on subject matter experts to review the vignette scripts. The insurance agent/customer dialogue created for Study 1 was again used in Study 2; a description of the development of this vignette is contained in Chapter 2. To develop the script for the personal trainer condition, I first conducted informal interviews with two personal trainers in Bloomington, Indiana: one employed with the Indiana University Student Recreation and Sports Center, and one employed with the Bloomington YMCA. Each trainer indicated that they routinely counseled their clients on preparing for specific physical activities, such as running in a marathon. The resultant script, which depicted a trainer and client discussing physical training requirements for an upcoming triathlon, is found in Appendix F. It was reviewed by each

trainer to ensure technical accuracy. Additionally, as in Study 1, the script was reviewed by two executives from the Indiana University-Bloomington Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transsexual Student Support Services office to ensure that the disclosure of the trainer's same-sex orientation was realistic.

I recruited actors for the vignettes from the Speech and Debate Team at Indiana University-Bloomington. Four students who were personally recommended by the team's coaches were invited to participate and paid for their time. The actors were assigned roles such that the same male or female actor portrayed the service provider in all of the vignettes. These actors were asked to memorize the scripts, but were allowed to rephrase any statements that they felt they could not communicate naturally. Only minor variations were found in the final videotaped product. The completed videotapes were previewed by a focus group of twelve students enrolled in an introductory human resource management class at The Ohio State University. These students confirmed that the vignettes were understandable and realistic, and that the manipulation of sexual orientation was salient.

Sexual Orientation Manipulation.

As in Study 1, participants in the disclosure conditions learned that the service provider was gay near the end of the vignette when he/she disclosed this information in response to a question from the customer. In the insurance agent condition, disclosure occurred as described in Study 1. In addition to replication of the insurance agent/customer dyad presented in Study 1, Study 2 introduced a new, more intimate service context: that of a personal physical fitness trainer and a client exercising together in a gymnasium. Personal trainers routinely touch their clients when performing

exercises in the gym, so this scenario presents a relatively intimate interaction context. The script for this videotaped encounter was developed by following the patterns for discussion and disclosure in the insurance scenario used in Study 1, modifying the topics to be appropriate to a physical fitness environment. Again, sexual orientation disclosure was manipulated by having the service provider respond to a single question from the customer in one of two ways: one that resulted in the self-disclosure of homosexuality (disclosure condition) and one that did not (control, or no-disclosure condition). In this instance, the customer asked the trainer if he/she had ever tried to exercise with someone that they were "dating", with the assumption that the dating partner was of the opposite gender. The trainer responded either that he/she had, but found that exercising with someone of the opposite sex was difficult (control condition) or that he/she was gay, so his/her dating partner was of the same gender, which eliminated some of the difficulties associated with exercising with an opposite sex partner (disclosure condition). As in Study 1, both encounters were scripted such that the parties engaged in appropriate reciprocal self-disclosure and nonverbal communication.

Service Provider Performance Manipulation.

As in Study 1, both the insurance agent and trainer demonstrated consistently excellent performance in the vignette by demonstrating empathy, providing technically correct information, and focus on the customer's individual needs. Additionally, to ensure that participants believed that each provider was a good performer, they were told that he/she had received two merit promotions during his/her tenure, and that the company rated his/her performance as "outstanding."

Measures

Heterosexism

Participants completed a shortened version of Herek's (1984) Attitudes Toward Gays scale to assess their prejudicial attitudes toward gay men. The fifteen items included were those with the highest contribution to internal consistency from the analysis of the full scale in Study 1. Items were again answered on a 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) Likert-type scale, with higher scores representing more prejudice. The internal consistency of responses in this measure and all subsequently reported measures was assessed using Cronbach's alpha. The internal consistency of responses for this scale was $\alpha = .84$.

Herek (1984) provided reworded items to comprise the Attitudes Toward Lesbians scale. A shortened version of this scale was prepared by choosing items that corresponded to those included in the modified Attitudes Toward Gays scale, as noted above. Three items on the Attitudes Toward Gays scale did not have corresponding items for inclusion in the Attitudes Toward Lesbians scale. The 12 items chosen for the Attitudes Toward Lesbians scale were each answered on a 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) Likert-type scale, with higher scores reflecting more prejudice. The internal consistency of responses for this scale was $\alpha = .81$.

Conservative Religious Orientation

Participants' religious orientation was assessed as in Study 1, using the information in Table 1 to code responses.

Gender Role Identification

As in Study 1, participants completed the 9-item Levinson & Huffman (1955) Traditional Family Ideology scale to assess the degree to which they adhered to traditional gender role norms. Items were again scored on a 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) Likert-type scale. Coefficient alpha for the Traditional Family Ideology scale was $\alpha = .77$.

Attitude Functions

Participants responded to all six items from Herek's (1987) Attitude Function Inventory assessing the function of their attitudes toward homosexuals generally. This scale was chosen because it has been previously validated specifically with regard to functions of attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. Three questions measured each of the ego-defensive function and the value-expressive function. All items were scored on a 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) Likert-type scale, with higher scores representing a stronger function fulfilled by attitudes toward lesbians and gays. Coefficient alpha for the ego-defensive questions was $\alpha = .87$, and for the value-expressive questions was $\alpha = .73$.

Service Provider Performance Evaluation

As in Study 1, the overall competence of the service provider was measured by combining responses to eleven questions that participants responded to after viewing the videotape. Responses were given on 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) Likert-type scales. Reliability for this scale was $\alpha = .94$.

Desire to Engage Service Provider

As in Study 1, participants' intentions to engage the services of this insurance agent were measured using the aggregate score on five items completed after the videotape was viewed. Alpha for these items was $\alpha = .86$.

Perceptions of Provider's Employer

As in Study 1, participants responded to six questions assessing their perceptions of the organization employing each service provider. Two questions were used to assess each of the dependent variables below, all on a 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) Likert-type scale. Scale reliability for questions concerning the company's commitment to diversity was $\alpha = .62$; for questions concerning the fairness of the companies procedures $\alpha = .76$; and for questions concerning the desirability of the company as an employer, $\alpha = .84$.

This chapter provided a description of the research methodology used in Study 2. In Chapter 9, I present the results of this investigation.

CHAPTER 9

RESULTS OF STUDY 2

This chapter presents the results from Study 2. In addition to the new hypotheses presented in Chapter 7, this investigation also provided a replication of the hypotheses initially tested in Study 1 (and presented in Chapter 3). Results are presented in numerical order of the hypotheses, and are summarized together with results from the first investigation in Appendix C.

The means, standard deviations, and correlations of all variables are shown in Table 16. On the basis of their total scores, participants were divided into groups representing low and high scores on gender role identification, ego-defensive function, value-expressive function, and heterosexism toward each of gay men and lesbians. These splits occurred at the median score. Similarly, on the basis of their religious orientation scores, participants were divided into groups representing low (score of 1-3) and high (score of 4-6) conservative religious orientation.

To ensure that participants in the sixteen study conditions were essentially similar to one another, I conducted a within-and-between analysis of variance in each condition using demographic variables. At the aggregate level, study condition

Variable	Mean	S.D	α	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1-Gender ^a				-----										
2-Heterosexism Gays	35.53	12.	.52	.86	.37***	-----								
3-Heterosexism Lesbians	26.85	11	.14	.83	-.01	.79***	-----							
4-Sex Role Identification	20.70	8.74	.61	.36***	.60***	.38***	-----							
5-Religious Involvement	3.33	1.34		-.03	.41***	.50***	.11***	-----						
6-Ego-Defensive Function	10.40	5.63	.87	-.29***	.78***	.68***	.55***	.36***	-----					
7-Value-Expressive Function	12.54	5.22	.73	-.05	.65***	.70***	.36***	.50***	.67***	-----				
8-Performance Evaluation	24.01	4.95	.94	.15***	-.04	-.04	-.25***	.11***	-.06	.10**	-----			
9-Intent to Engage Provider	24.43	8.57	.86	.24***	-.40***	-.39***	-.34***	-.21***	-.37***	-.24***	.58***	-----		
10-Company Diversity	9.89	2.34	.62	.03	.04	.03	-.16***	.12**	-.03	.04	.38***	.25***	-----	
11-Company Justice	10.56	2.49	.76	.20***	-.08*	-.03	-.29***	.17***	-.11**	.02	.67***	.46***	.60***	-----
12-Company Desirability	15.15	3.78	.84	.19***	-.31***	-.20***	-.40***	-.07*	-.32***	-.17***	.59***	.72***	.49***	.63***

^aPositive numbers reflect correlation with male gender.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 16: Study 2: Means, Standard Deviations, Scale Reliabilities, and Intercorrelation of Variables

significantly explained variance in participants' age, $F(15, 838) = 11.71$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .176$. However, post hoc Bonferroni tests (conducted at the .05 significance level) revealed no significant differences between study conditions. Similarly, results were significant for participants' gender, $F(15, 838) = 3.16$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .055$, and religious involvement, $F(15, 838) = 5.31$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .088$. Again, however, post hoc tests failed to reveal significant differences between study conditions. Additionally, all participants in the control/no disclosure conditions said the service provider was heterosexual, whereas all of those in the self-disclosure conditions said the service provider was gay or lesbian. I concluded that the manipulation of sexual orientation was successful.

Hypothesis 1a predicted that participants who viewed a homosexual service provider would provide higher performance ratings than would participants who viewed a heterosexual provider. An ANOVA to determine differences in performance ratings by study conditions revealed an overall significant result, $F(15, 964) = 6.36$; $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .091$. Results from a series of planned comparisons, noted in Table 17, showed that this hypothesis was supported only in those conditions when a male service provider interacted with a female customer. In the male insurance agent/female customer conditions, performance ratings in the disclosure/gay condition were significantly higher than those in the non-disclosure condition ($p < .001$). Similarly, in the male personal trainer/female customer condition, performance ratings in the disclosure/gay condition

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Gay/Lesbian Service Provider</u>			<u>Non-Gay/Lesbian Service Provider</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
<u>Difference</u>							
Male Agent/Male Customer	26.32	2.44	60	23.98	4.19	55	2.34
Male Agent/Female Customer	26.00	2.08	61	21.67	7.95	58	4.33***
Female Agent/Male Customer	25.30	3.66	60	23.31	3.75	55	1.99
Female Agent/Female Customer	24.76	2.97	63	23.38	4.07	53	1.38
Male Trainer/Male Customer	21.89	7.21	55	23.80	4.95	60	-1.91
Male Trainer/Female Customer	26.77	2.53	53	23.42	3.89	64	3.35*
Female Trainer/Male Customer	21.54	6.08	57	23.81	6.61	63	-2.27
Female Trainer/Female Customer	23.15	5.06	59	24.57	4.21	89	-1.42

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 17: Study 2: Differences in Performance Ratings by Study Condition

were significantly higher than those in the non-disclosure condition ($p = .019$). These differences are represented graphically in Figures 6 and 7.

Hypothesis 1b predicted that participants high in sexual prejudice would report lower performance evaluations of the gay service provider than would those low in heterosexism. An ANOVA testing variation in performance evaluations on the basis of study condition and heterosexism toward gays revealed a significant interaction term, $F(15, 947) = 3.54$; $p < .001$, as shown in Table 18. Scores for participants in study conditions with gay male service providers are shown in Table 19. Participants reporting high prejudice toward gays provided significantly lower performance ratings than did those low in heterosexism only in the condition when the gay male trainer interacted with a male client ($p < .001$). This difference is represented graphically in Figure 8.

To determine the effect of heterosexism toward lesbians on performance evaluations of lesbian service providers, I conducted a second ANOVA testing variation in performance evaluations on the basis of study condition and heterosexism toward lesbians. As noted in Table 20, this interaction term was not significant, $F(15, 935) = 1.42$, $p = .132$. Hypothesis 1b was supported only for heterosexist attitudes toward gays.

Hypothesis 1c predicted that participants with a strong conservative religious orientation would rate the gay service provider more negatively than would those without this religious orientation. As noted in Table 21, results from an ANOVA indicated a significant interaction term for study condition and religious orientation, $F(15, 958) = 3.83$; $p < .001$. Mean performance scores for participants who viewed a gay or

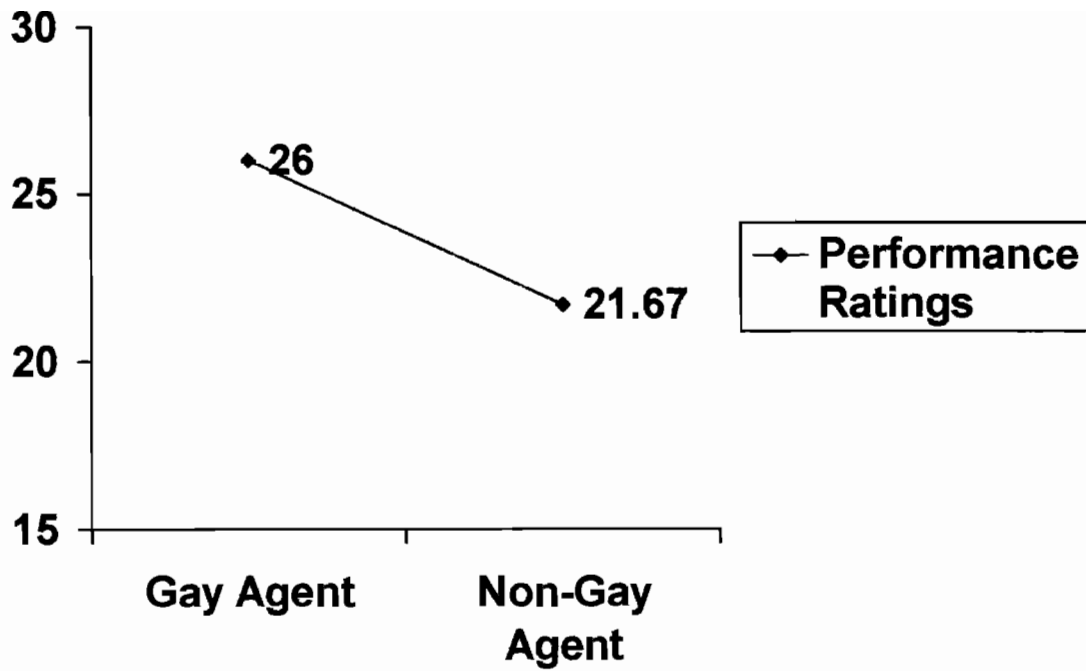


Figure 6: Study 2: Performance Ratings for Male Insurance Agent Interacting With Female Customer

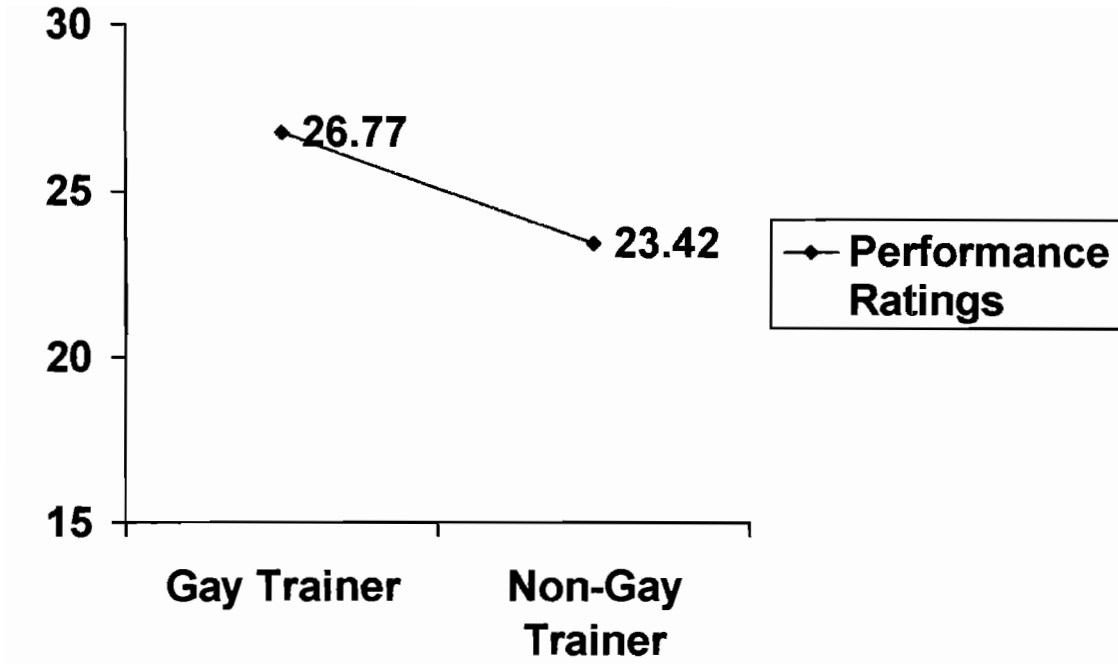


Figure 7: Study 2: Performance Ratings for Male Personal Trainer Interacting With Female Customer

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	112.67	5.26	.000	.079
Heterosexism	1	325.61	15.19	.000	.016
Condition x Heterosexism	15	75.84	3.54	.000	.055
Total	947				

Table 18: Study 1: Analysis of Variance in Performance Ratings by Study Condition and Heterosexism Toward Gays

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Low Heterosexism Toward Gays</u>			<u>High Heterosexism Toward Gays</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Gay Agent/Male Customer	25.00	2.32	21	27.03	2.22	39	-2.03
Gay Agent/Female Customer	26.14	2.07	36	25.78	2.13	23	0.36
Gay Trainer/Male Customer	25.82	2.51	17	20.19	8.13	36	5.63***
Gay Trainer/Female Customer	25.83	3.40	18	27.26	1.82	35	-1.42

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 19: Study 2: Behavioral Intentions to Engage Male Service Provider by Study Condition and Heterosexism Toward Gays

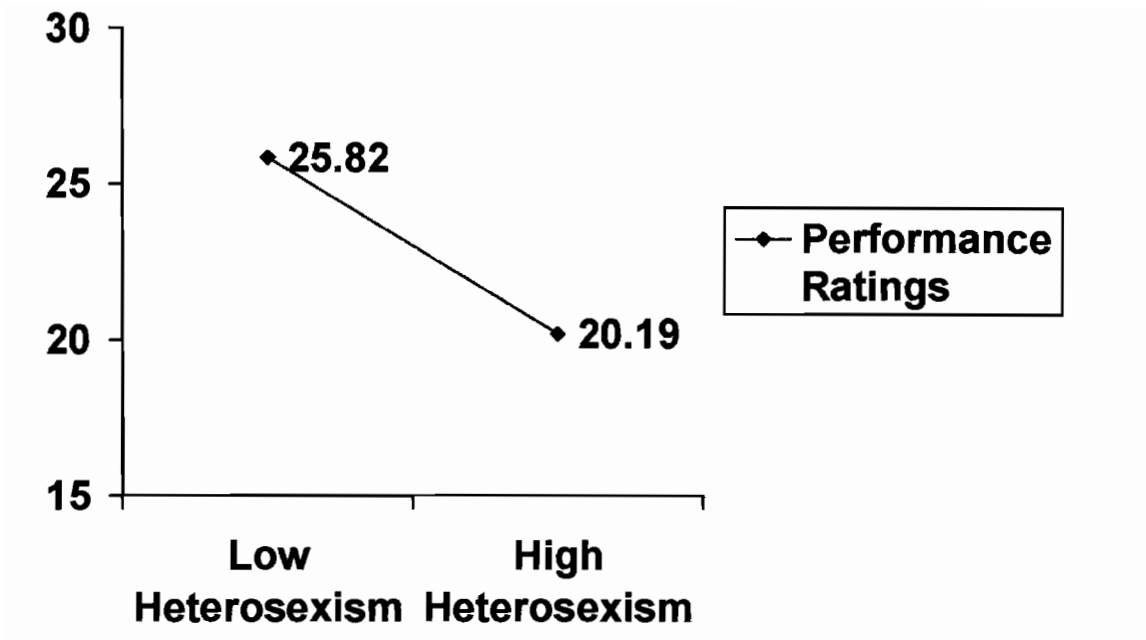


Figure 8: Study 2: Interaction Between Heterosexism Toward Gays and Study Condition on Performance Ratings of Gay Personal Trainer Interacting with Male Customer

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	127.93	6.29	.000	.095
Heterosexism	1	14.28	0.70	.402	.001
Condition x Heterosexism	15	28.84	1.42	.132	.023
Total	935				

Table 20: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Performance Ratings by Study Condition and Heterosexism Toward Lesbians

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	111.55	5.24	.000	.078
Religious Orientation	1	338.29	15.90	.000	.017
Condition x Religious Orientation	15	81.52	3.83	.000	.058
Total	958				

Table 21: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Performance Ratings by Study Condition and Religious Orientation

lesbian service provider are shown in Table 22. Although participants high in conservative religious orientation provided lower performance ratings of gay and lesbian service providers than did participants low in religious orientation in most conditions, this difference was significant only in the condition wherein a gay trainer interacted with a male client. In this condition, participants high in conservative religious orientation provided significantly lower evaluation scores than did those low in conservative religious orientation ($p < .001$). This difference is represented graphically in Figure 9. This hypothesis was supported only for participants who viewed a gay male personal trainer interacting with a male client.

Hypothesis 1d predicted that participants high in traditional gender role identification would provide more negative ratings of a gay service provider than would those with low traditional gender role identification. Again, an ANOVA investigating the effect of study condition and gender role identification on performance ratings revealed a significant interaction term, $F(15, 950) = 2.87$; $p < .001$; results are shown in Table 23 and performance scores are shown in Table 24. Mean differences in performance ratings provided by individuals with high gender role identification were significantly lower than ratings provided by those with low gender role identification in two study conditions. When the lesbian personal trainer interacted with a male client, people with a low gender role identification provided significantly higher evaluations than did those with a high gender role identification ($p < .001$). Similarly, when the lesbian personal trainer interacted with a female client, people with a low gender role identification provided significantly higher evaluations than did those with a high gender role identification ($p <$

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Low Religious Orientation</u>			<u>High Religious Orientation</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Gay Agent/Male Customer	24.83	3.17	24	27.31	4.12	36	-2.48
Gay Agent/Female Customer	25.92	2.64	39	26.14	3.97	22	-0.22
Lesbian Agent/Male Customer	23.59	4.33	27	26.70	2.23	33	-3.11
Lesbian Agent/Female Customer	22.75	5.22	16	25.45	1.04	47	-2.70
Gay Trainer/Male Customer	26.48	2.60	25	18.07	7.62	30	8.41 ^{***}
Gay Trainer/Female Customer	25.23	3.83	13	27.28	1.72	40	-2.05
Lesbian Trainer/Female Customer	22.44	4.32	18	24.86	3.71	41	-2.42

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 22: Study 2: Performance Ratings by Study Condition and Religious Orientation

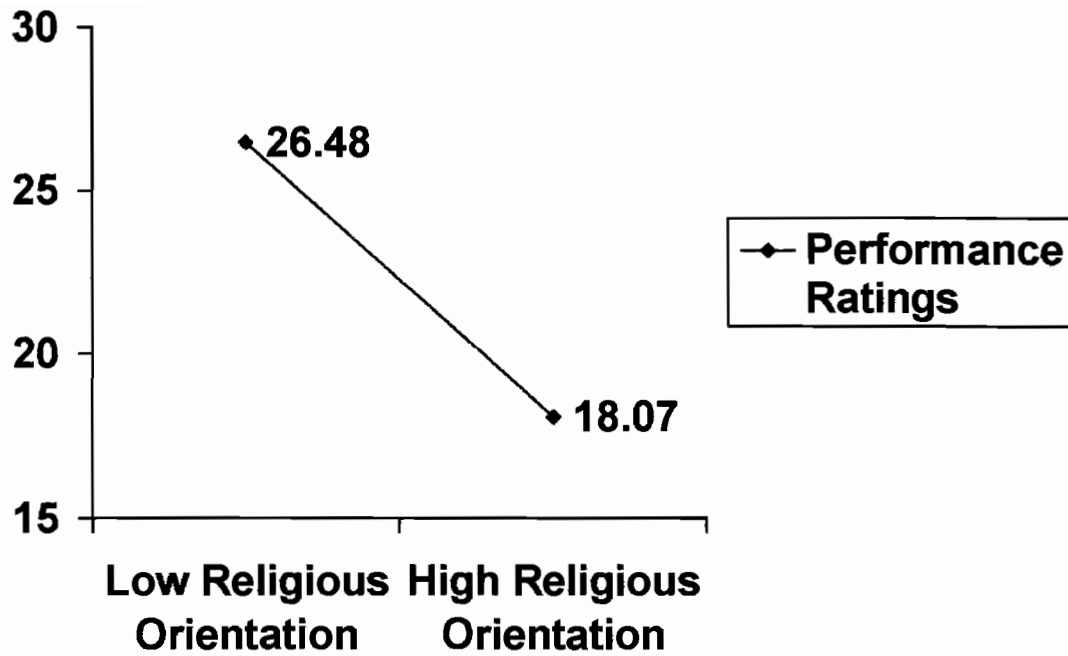


Figure 9: Study 2: Interaction Between Conservative Religious Orientation and Study Condition on Performance Ratings of Gay Personal Trainer Interacting with Male Customer

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	123.39	6.59	.000	.097
Gender Role Orientation	1	900.71	48.06	.000	.050
Condition x Gender Role Orientation	15	53.82	2.87	.000	.045
Total	950				

Table 23: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Performance Ratings by Study Condition and Gender Role Identification

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Low Gender Role Identification</u>			<u>High Gender Role Identification</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Gay Agent/Male Customer	26.73	2.257	44	25.18	2.64	16	1.55
Gay Agent/Female Customer	26.24	2.06	37	25.63	2.10	24	0.61
Lesbian Agent/Male Customer	25.21	3.66	24	25.36	3.70	36	-0.15
Lesbian Agent/Female Customer	25.87	3.74	15	24.42	2.63	48	1.45
Gay Trainer/Male Customer	26.06	2.67	18	25.91	3.38	22	0.15
Gay Trainer/Female Customer	26.35	3.20	17	26.97	2.17	36	-0.62
Lesbian Trainer/Male Customer	24.04	5.56	27	19.30	5.71	30	4.74***
Lesbian Trainer/Female Customer	26.60	1.64	15	21.98	5.30	44	4.62***

* p < .05

** p < .01

*** p < .001

Table 24: Study 2: Performance Ratings by Study Condition and Gender Role Identification

.001). These differences are presented graphically in Figures 10 and 11. This hypothesis was supported only for lesbians in the personal trainer context.

Hypothesis 1e predicted that the function of participants' attitudes toward lesbians and gays would moderate their evaluation of homosexual service providers' performance. An ANOVA investigating the effect of the ego-defensive function and study condition produced a significant result, $F(15, 941) = 3.24$; $p < .001$. Results are shown in Table 25, and scores for each condition in which a gay or lesbian service provider was viewed are presented in Table 26. Mean differences reached statistical significance only in one condition: participants with low ego-defensive scores rated the lesbian personal trainer interacting with a female client significantly higher than did participants with high ego-defensive scores, ($t(909) = 4.04$; $p < .001$). Results are presented in Figure 12.

An ANOVA investigating the effect of the value-expressive function and study condition on performance perceptions did not produce a significant result, $F(15, 935) = 1.58$; $p = .073$. Results are shown in Table 27.

Hypothesis 2a predicted that there would be a positive relationship between ratings of service provider competence and reported behavioral intention to approach that service provider. As noted in Table 16, a Pearson product moment correlation test revealed a significant positive correlation between these two variables ($r = .58$; $p < .001$). This hypothesis was supported.

Hypothesis 2b predicted that participants high in heterosexism would report lower behavioral intentions to engage the gay service provider than would those low in heterosexism. An ANOVA (reported in Table 28) examining the effect of study condition and heterosexism toward gays on participants' reported desire to engage the

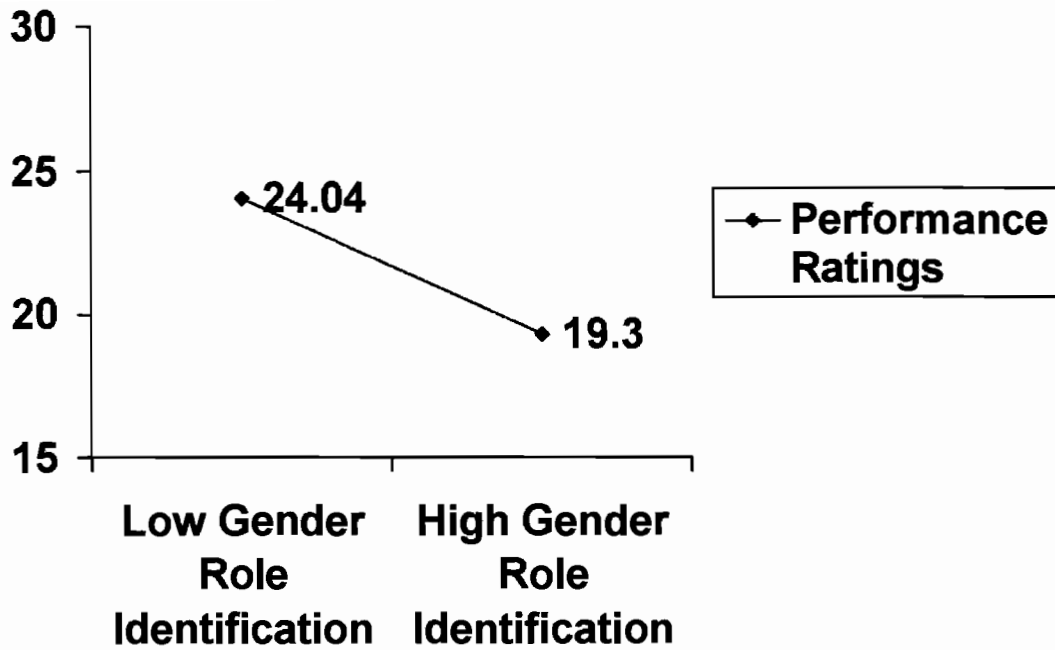


Figure 10: Study 2: Interaction Between Gender Role Identification and Study Condition on Performance Ratings of Lesbian Personal Trainer Interacting with Male Customer

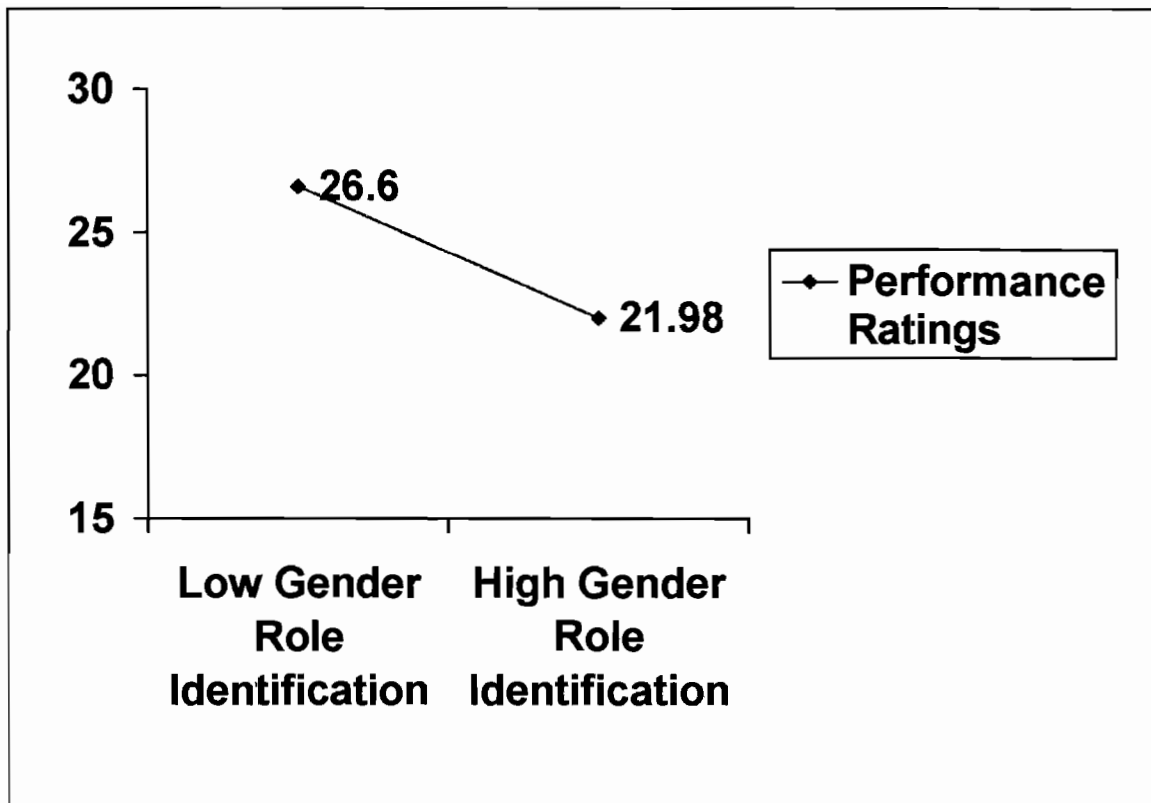


Figure 11: Study 2: Interaction Between Gender Role Identification and Study Condition on Performance Ratings of Lesbian Personal Trainer Interacting with Female Customer

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	124.66	6.37	.000	.095
Ego-Defensive Function	1	151.49	7.74	.006	.008
Condition x Ego-Defensive Function	15	63.45	3.24	.000	.051
Total	941				

Table 25: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Performance Ratings by Study Condition and Ego-Defensive Attitude Function

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Low Gender Role Identification</u>			<u>High Gender Role Identification</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Gay Agent/Male Customer	25.23	2.23	26	27.15	2.28	34	-1.92
Gay Agent/Female Customer	26.20	2.06	46	25.50	2.14	14	0.70
Lesbian Agent/Male Customer	24.83	3.41	29	25.74	3.87	31	0.91
Lesbian Agent/Female Customer	24.69	4.08	16	24.79	2.54	47	-0.10
Gay Trainer/Male Customer	25.67	2.74	18	26.67	2.65	21	-1.00
Gay Trainer/Female Customer	25.95	3.10	20	27.27	2.00	33	-1.32
Lesbian Trainer/Male Customer	20.87	6.18	31	22.35	5.97	26	-1.48
Lesbian Trainer/Female Customer	25.50	2.50	28	20.80	5.80	30	4.70***

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 26. Study 2: Performance Ratings by Study Condition and Ego-Defensive Attitude Function

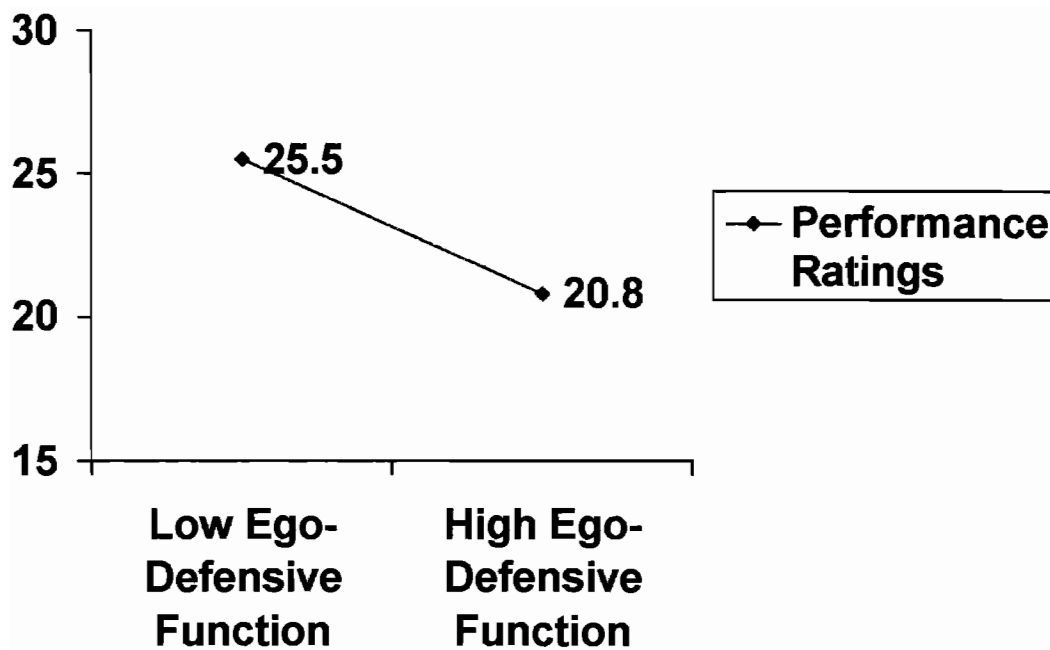


Figure 12: Study 2: Interaction Between Ego-Defensive Attitude Function and Study Condition on Performance Ratings of Lesbian Personal Trainer Interacting with Female Customer

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	127.52	6.28	.000	.094
Value-Expressive Function	1	32.74	1.61	.205	.002
Condition x Value-Expressive Function	15	32.08	1.58	.073	.026
Total	935				

Table 27: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Performance Ratings by Study Condition and Value-Expressive Attitude Function

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>η^2</u>
Condition	15	264.76	5.21	.000	.081
Heterosexism Toward Gays	1	5784.03	113.75	.000	.113
Condition x Heterosexism					
Toward Gays	15	311.47	6.13	.000	.093
Total	924				

Table 28: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Behavioral Intentions to Engage Service Provider by Study Condition and Heterosexism Toward Gays

service provider produced a significant interaction term, $F(15, 924) = 6.13; p < .001$. Participants' reported desires to engage the gay service providers are reported in Table 29. In every condition in which participants viewed a gay service provider, those high in heterosexism toward gays reported lower behavioral intentions to approach the service provider than did those low in heterosexism towards gays. This difference was statistically significant in the following conditions: gay insurance agent and male customer ($p < .001$); gay trainer and male customer ($p < .001$); and gay trainer and female customer ($p < .001$). These differences are represented in Figures 13, 14, and 15.

To consider the effect of heterosexism toward lesbians on participants' reported desire to engage the services of a lesbian service provider, I conducted another ANOVA. Results, noted in Table 30, revealed a significant interaction term, $F(15, 935) = 6.01; p < .001$. An analysis of participants' mean desirability ratings, reported in Table 31, indicated mixed support for this hypothesis. Participants high in heterosexism toward lesbians reported significantly lower behavioral intentions to engage the services of a lesbian provider only when the provider was an insurance agent interacting with a male ($p < .001$) or a female ($p < .001$) client. These differences are represented graphically in Figures 16 and 17. No significant differences were noted in the personal trainer conditions. This hypothesis was partially supported for both gay males and lesbians.

Hypothesis 2c predicted that participants with a strong conservative religious orientation would report lower behavioral intentions to engage the services of a gay service provider than would participants without this religious orientation. An ANOVA examining the effect of study condition and religious orientation, reported in Table 32, showed a significant interaction term, $F(15, 954) = 3.10; p < .001$. Participants' mean

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Low Heterosexism Toward Gays</u>			<u>High Heterosexism Toward Gays</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Gay Agent/Male Customer	28.81	5.02	21	22.77	2.84	39	6.04***
Gay Agent/Female Customer	30.47	4.26	36	28.17	7.27	23	2.30
Gay Trainer/Male Customer	28.53	6.87	17	10.06	7.52	36	18.47***
Gay Trainer/Female Customer	32.06	5.06	18	24.43	3.22	35	7.73***

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 29: Study 2: Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay Service Provider by Study Condition and Heterosexism Toward Gays

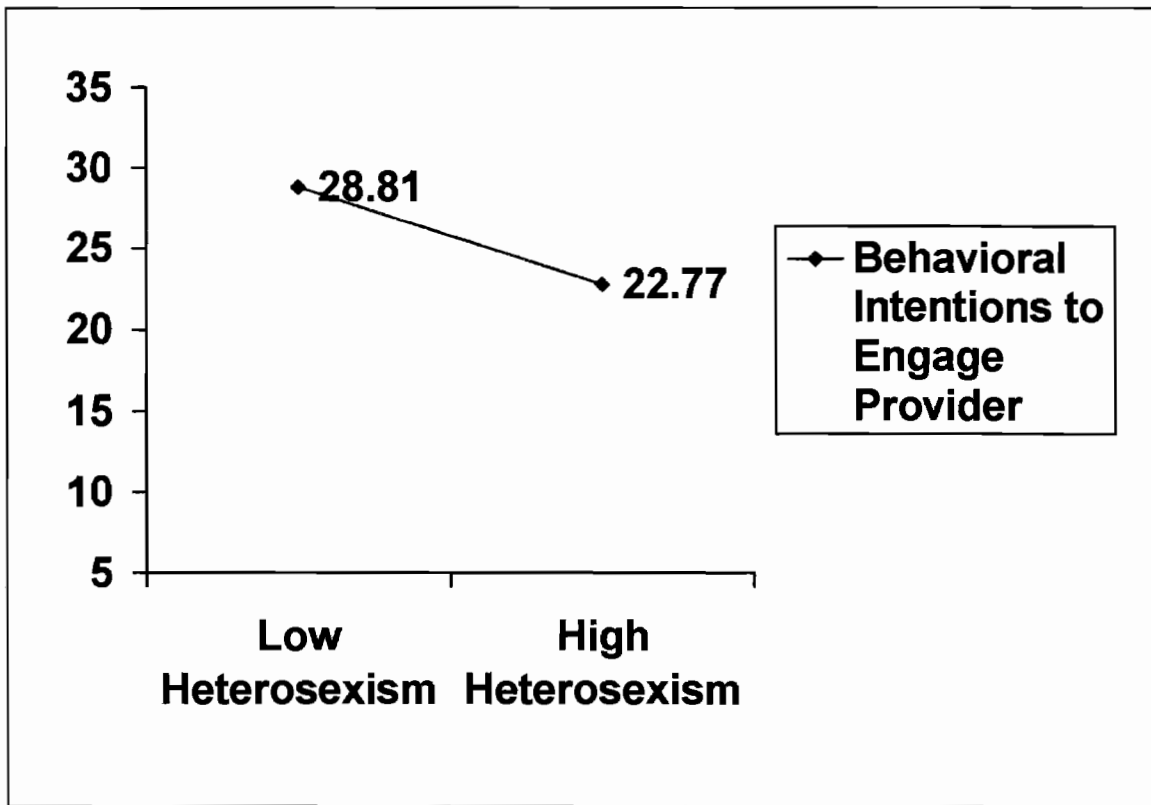


Figure 13: Study 2: Interaction Between Heterosexism Toward Gays and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay Insurance Agent Interacting with Male Customer

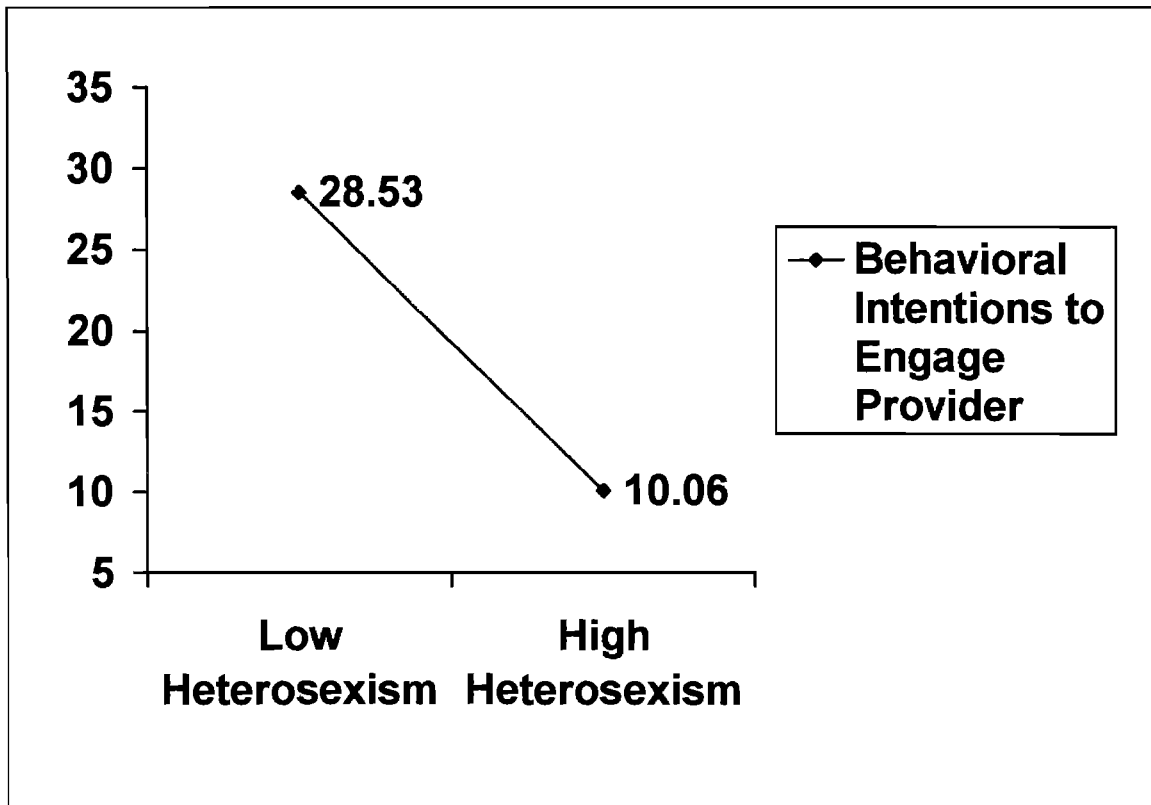


Figure 14: Study 2: Interaction Between Heterosexism Toward Gays and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions To Engage Gay Personal Trainer Interacting with Male Customer

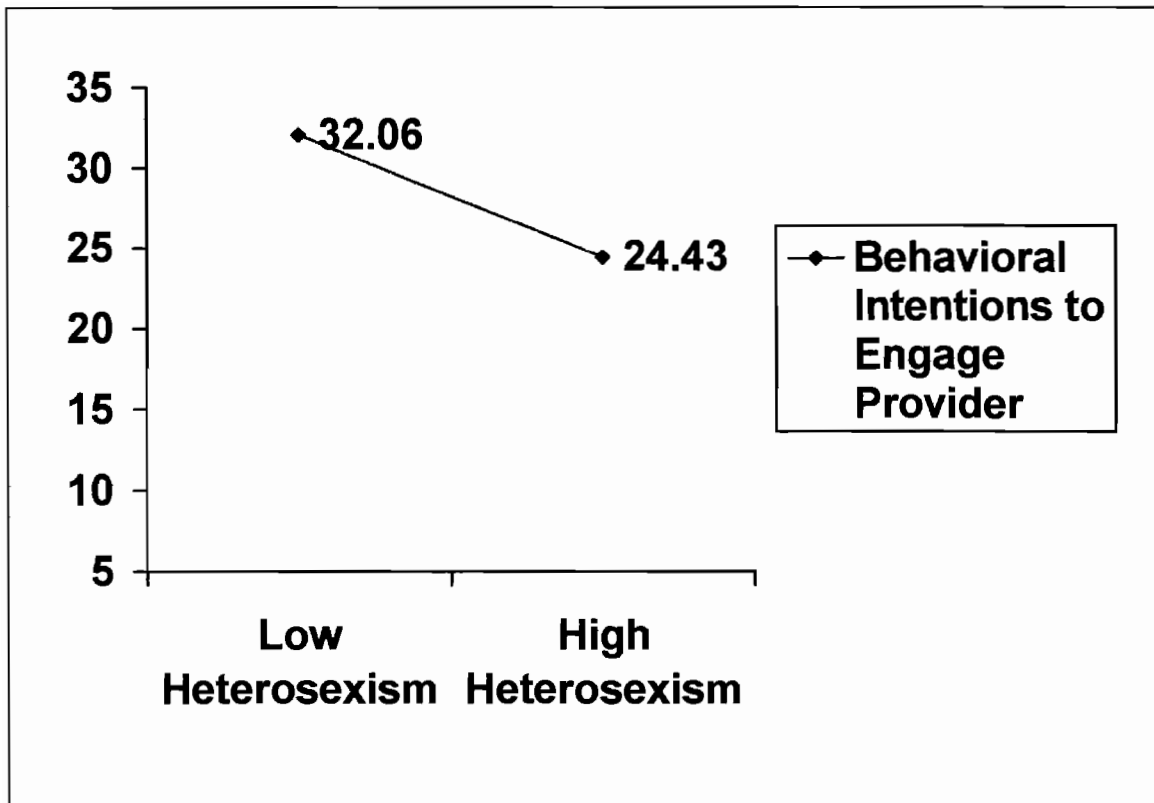


Figure 15: Study 2: Interaction Between Heterosexism Toward Gays and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay Personal Trainer Interacting with Female Customer

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	275.04	5.11	.000	.078
Heterosexism Toward Lesbians	1	3179.69	59.08	.000	.061
Condition x Heterosexism Toward Lesbians	15	323.69	6.01	.000	.091
Total	935				

Table 30: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Behavioral Intentions to Engage Service Provider by Study Condition and Heterosexism Toward Lesbians

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Low Heterosexism Toward Gays</u>			<u>High Heterosexism Toward Gays</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Lesbian Agent/Male Customer	28.48	5.50	25	23.14	5.24	35	5.34***
Lesbian Agent/Female Customer	27.53	9.64	15	11.46	7.54	48	16.08***
Lesbian Trainer/Male Customer	23.76	9.20	25	23.13	4.41	32	0.64
Lesbian Trainer/Female Customer	22.09	7.71	22	24.19	6.59	36	-2.10

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 31: Study 2: Behavioral Intentions to Engage Lesbian Service Provider by Study Condition and Heterosexism Toward Lesbians

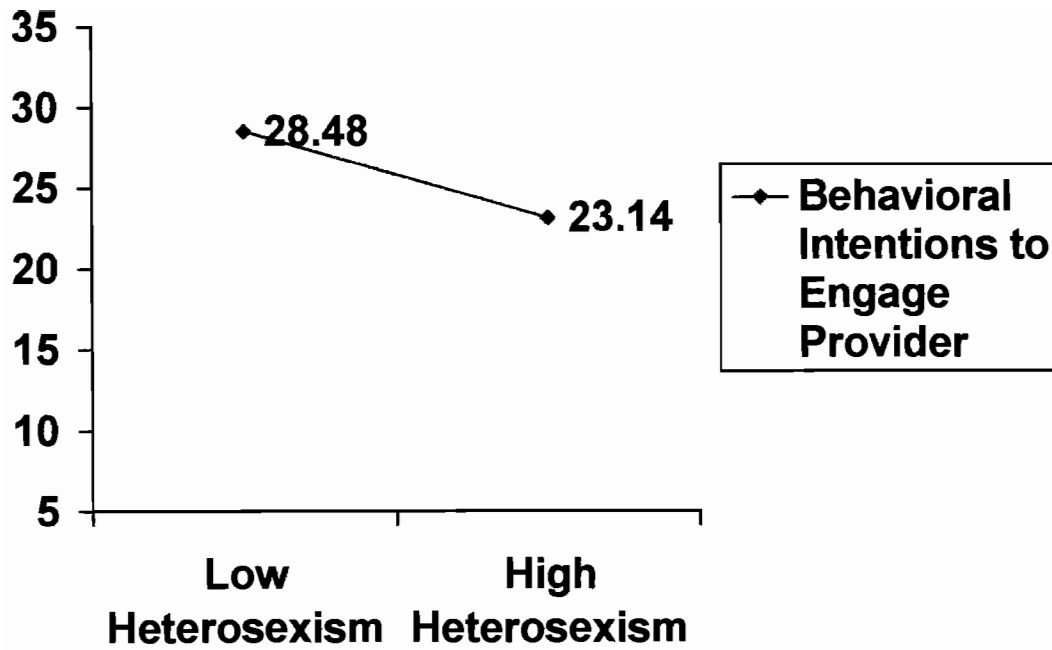


Figure 16: Study 2: Interaction Between Heterosexism Toward Lesbians and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Lesbian Insurance Agent Interacting with Male Customer

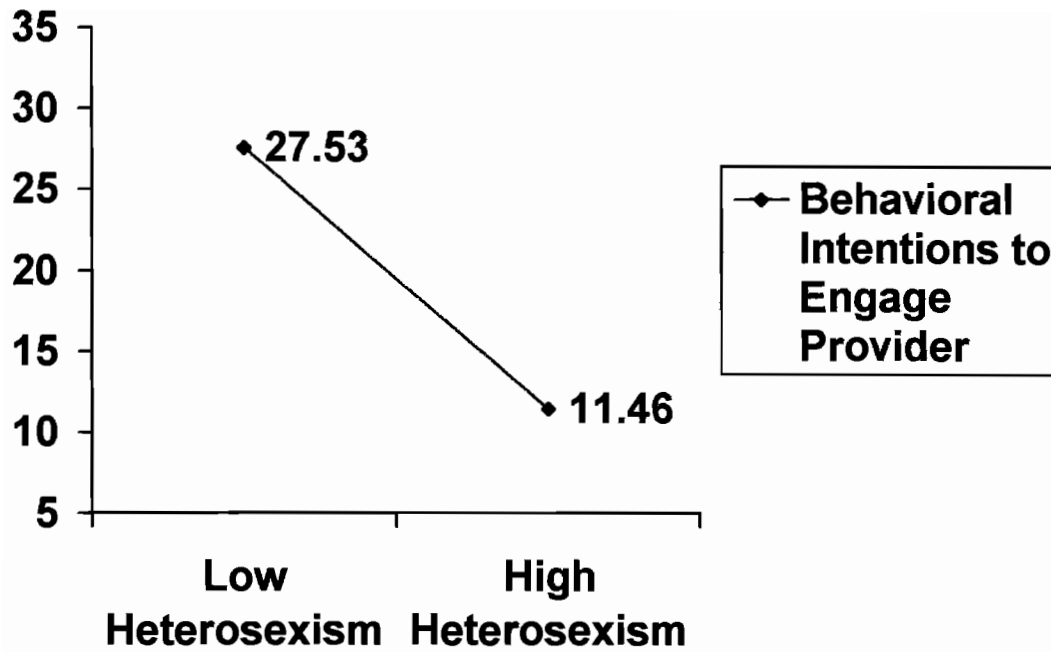


Figure 17: Study 2: Interaction Between Heterosexism Toward Lesbians and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Lesbian Insurance Agent Interacting with Female Customer

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>η^2</u>
Condition	15	575.14	9.76	.000	.137
Religious Orientation	1	838.17	14.22	.000	.015
Condition x Religious Orientation	15	182.64	3.10	.000	.048
Error	922	58.93			
Total	954				

Table 32: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Behavioral Intentions to Engage Service Provider by Study Condition and Religious Orientation

scores, by religious orientation, are shown in Table 33. Participants with a high conservative religious orientation provided significantly lower behavioral intentions than those with low conservative religious orientation to approach the service provider in only one condition: that of a lesbian insurance agent interacting with a female customer ($p < .001$). This difference is presented graphically in Figure 18.

Hypothesis 2d predicted that participants with a strong gender role orientation would report lower behavioral intentions to engage a gay service provider than would participants with weaker gender role orientation. Again, an ANOVA examining the effect of study condition and gender role identification, reported in Table 34, showed a significant interaction term, $F(15, 946) = 7.52$; $p < .001$. Participants' mean scores, by gender role identification, are shown in Table 35. Mean differences between participants with high and low gender role identifications were significant in four study conditions: lesbian insurance agent and male customer ($p < .001$; Figure 19); lesbian insurance agent and female customer ($p < .001$; Figure 20); gay trainer and male customer ($p < .001$; Figure 21) and gay trainer and female customer ($p < .001$; Figure 22).

Hypothesis 2e predicted that the function of participants' attitudes toward homosexuals would moderate their reported intentions to engage a gay or lesbian service provider. An ANOVA investigating the effect of the ego-defensive function and study condition on intentions to approach the service provider produced a significant result, $F(15, 940) = 6.84$; $p < .001$; results are shown in Table 36. As noted in Table 37, differences were significant in the hypothesized direction in six conditions: male insurance agent interacting with a male customer ($p < .001$, Figure 23); female insurance agent interacting with a male customer ($p < .001$, Figure 24); female insurance agent

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Low Religious Orientation</u>			<u>High Religious Orientation</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Gay Agent/Male Customer	27.24	5.18	24	23.19	2.52	36	4.05
Gay Agent/Female Customer	29.97	4.43	39	29.00	7.39	22	0.97
Lesbian Agent/Male Customer	26.07	6.74	27	24.78	5.21	33	1.29
Lesbian Agent/Female Customer	25.13	9.04	16	11.94	8.87	47	13.19***
Gay Trainer/Male Customer	17.67	11.66	30	14.24	10.64	25	3.43
Gay Trainer/Female Customer	30.62	5.74	13	25.85	4.70	40	4.77
Lesbian Trainer/Male Customer	23.55	6.98	35	24.00	5.80	21	-0.45
Lesbian Trainer/Female Customer	26.44	4.16	18	22.10	7.59	41	4.34

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 33: Study 2: Behavioral Intention to Engage Gay/Lesbian Service Provider by Study Condition and Conservative Religious Orientation

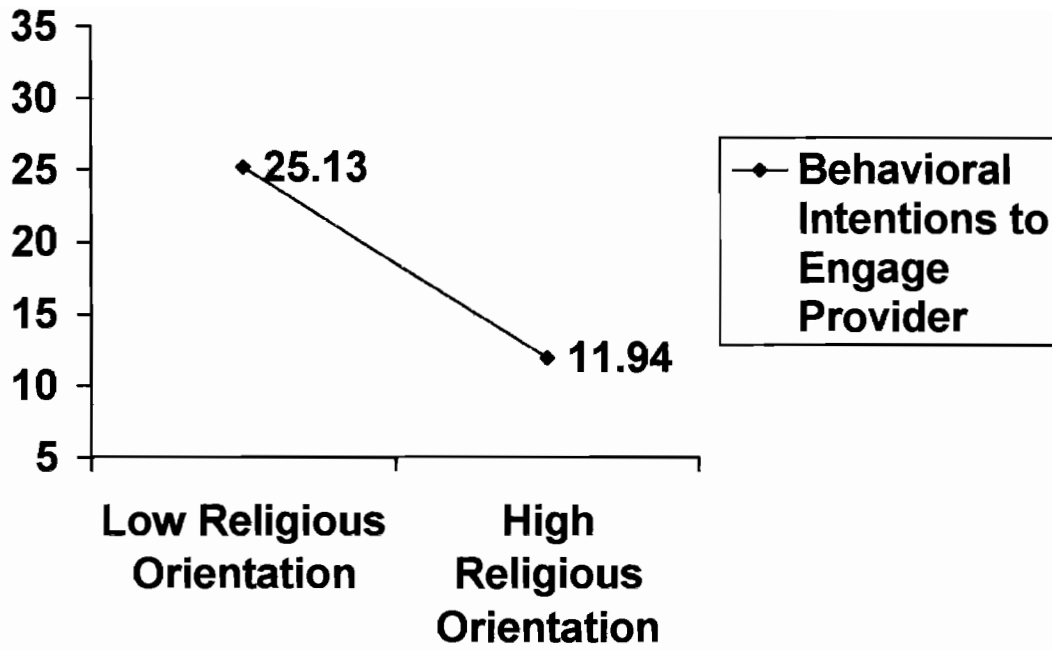


Figure 18: Study 2: Interaction Between Conservative Religious Orientation and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Lesbian Insurance Agent Interacting with Female Customer

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	312.14	6.36	.000	.095
Gender Role Orientation	1	6379.79	129.98	.000	.125
Condition x Gender Role Orientation	15	369.04	7.52	.000	.110
Total	946				

Table 34: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Behavioral Intentions to Engage Service Provider by Study Condition and Gender Role Orientation

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Low Gender Role Identification</u>			<u>High Gender Role Identification</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Gay Agent/Male Customer	24.35	4.25	43	26.24	5.63	17	-1.89
Gay Agent/Female Customer	30.71	5.24	35	28.15	5.92	26	2.56
Lesbian Agent/Male Customer	28.58	5.96	24	23.22	4.91	36	5.36***
Lesbian Agent/Female Customer	29.00	7.39	15	11.00	7.23	48	18.00***
Gay Trainer/Male Customer	28.16	7.68	19	11.71	8.20	21	16.45***
Gay Trainer/Female Customer	32.41	4.95	17	24.47	3.20	36	7.94***
Lesbian Trainer/Male Customer	24.71	8.93	28	22.14	3.75	29	2.57
Lesbian Trainer/Female Customer	26.73	3.70	15	22.30	7.50	44	4.43

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 35: Study 2: Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay/Lesbian Service Provider by Study Condition and Gender Role Identification

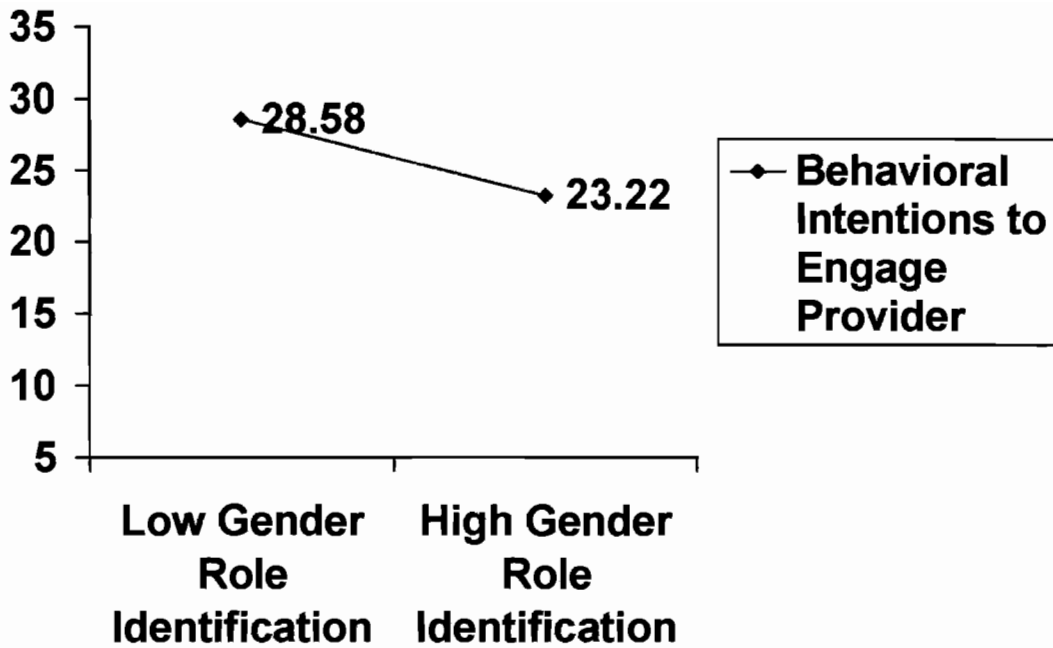


Figure 19: Study 2: Interaction Between Gender Role Identification and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Lesbian Insurance Agent Interacting with Male Customer

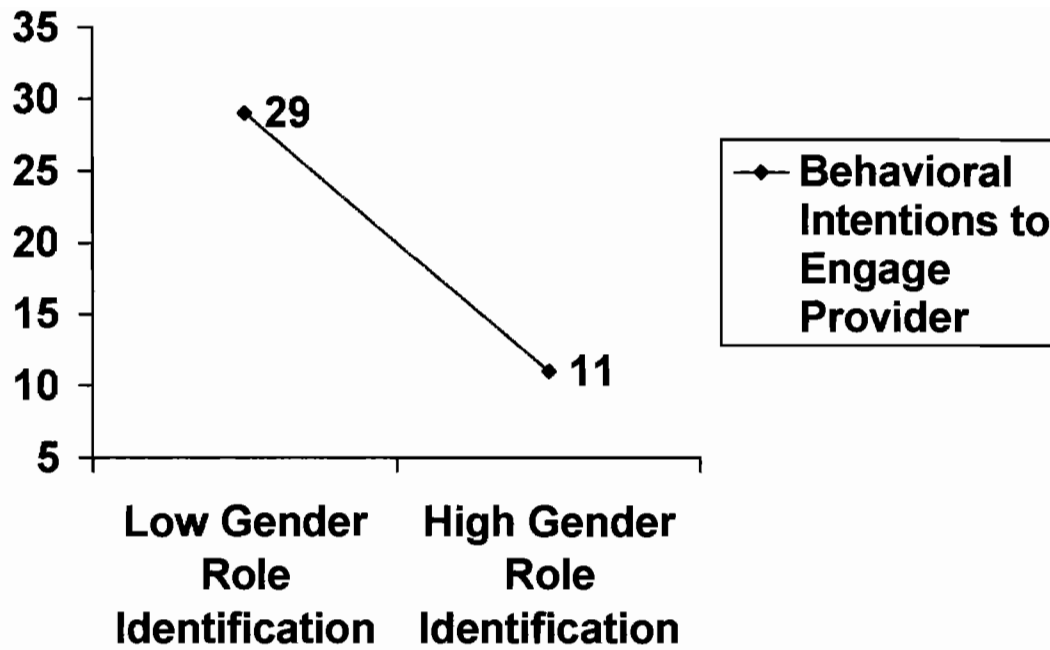


Figure 20: Study 2: Interaction Between Gender Role Identification and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Lesbian Insurance Agent Interacting with Female Customer

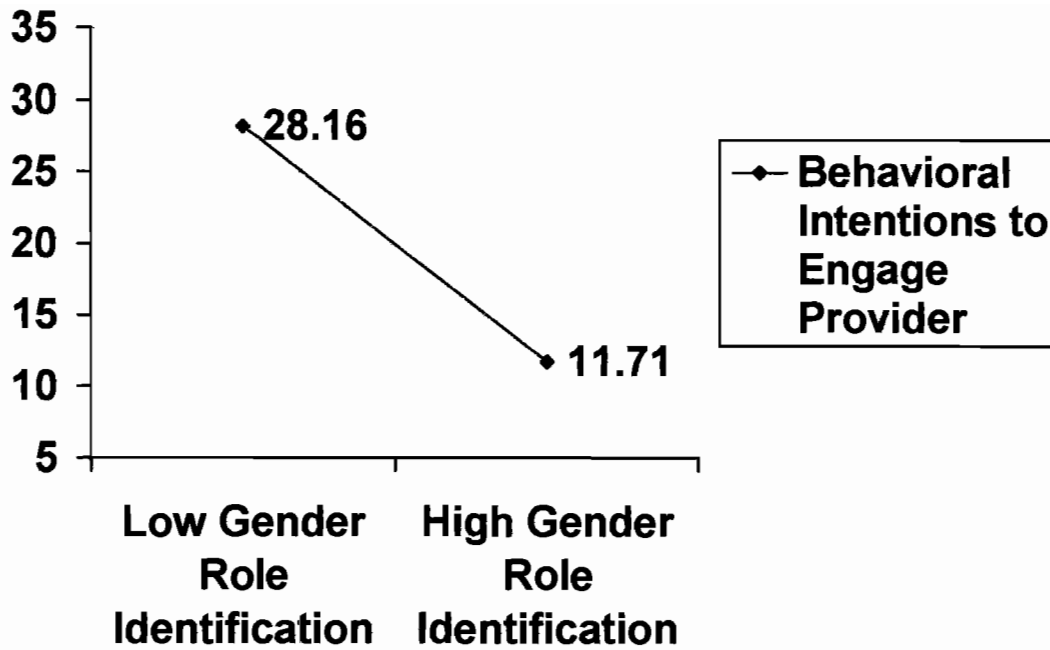


Figure 21: Study 2: Interaction Between Gender Role Identification and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay Male Personal Trainer Interacting with Male Customer

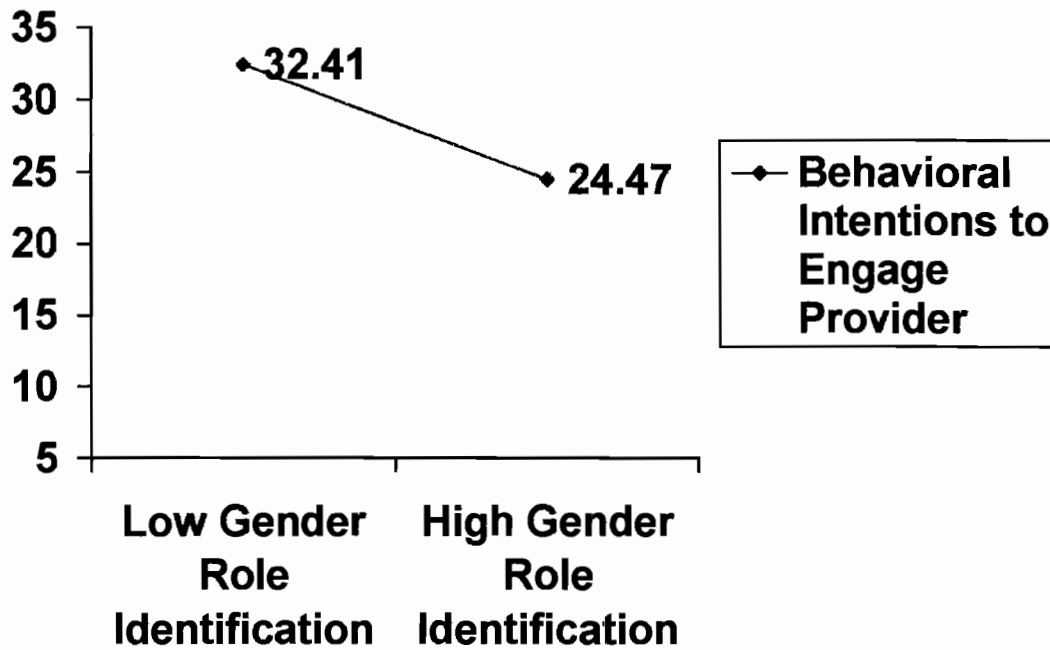


Figure 22: Study 2: Interaction Between Gender Role Identification and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay Male Personal Trainer Interacting with Female Customer

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	284.46	5.58	.000	.084
Ego-Defensive Attitude Function	1	5444.91	106.83	.000	.105
Condition x Ego-Defensive Attitude Function	15	348.38	6.84	.000	.101
Total	940				

Table 36: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Behavioral Intentions to Approach Service Provider by Study Condition and Ego-Defensive Attitude Function

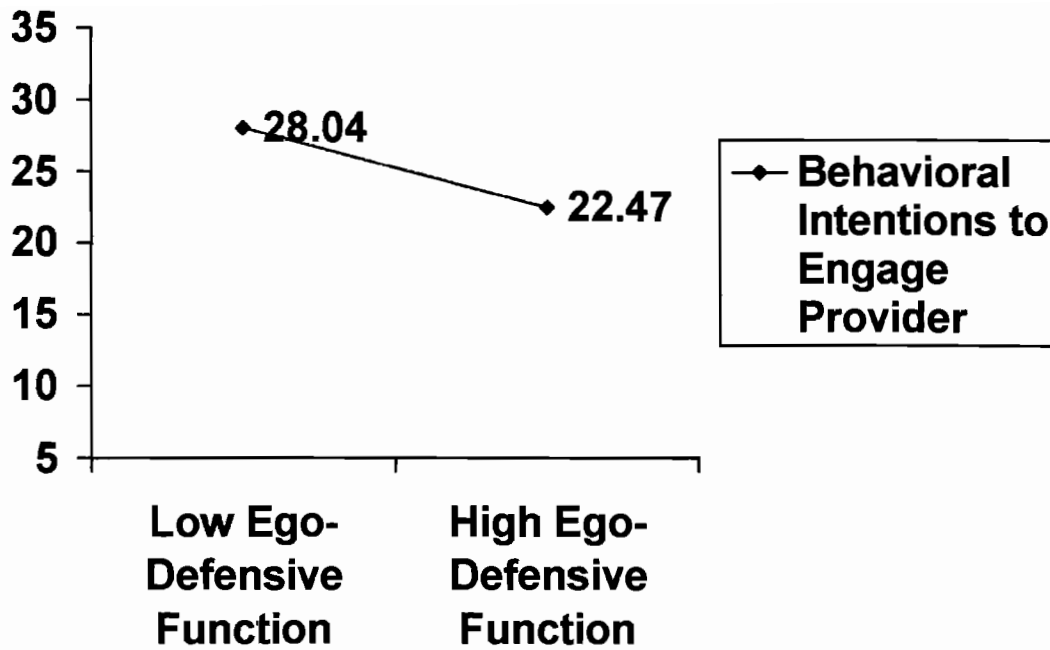


Figure 23: Study 2: Interaction Between Ego-Defensive Attitude Function and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay Male Insurance Agent Interacting with Male Customer

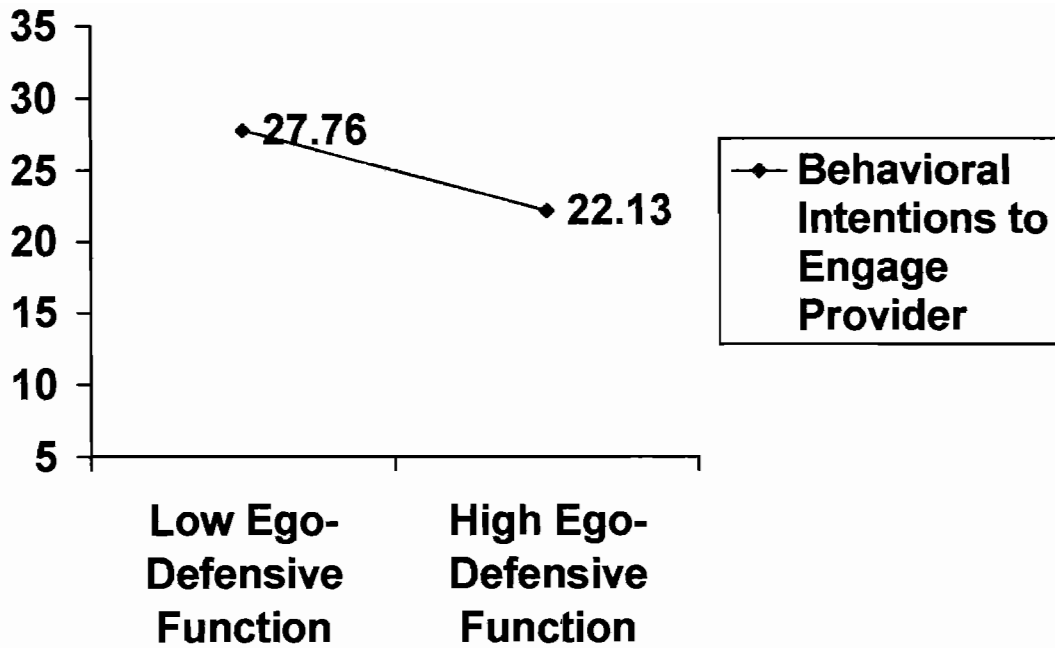


Figure 24: Study 2: Interaction Between Ego-Defensive Attitude Function and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Lesbian Insurance Agent Interacting with Male Customer

interacting with a female customer ($p < .001$, Figure 25); male personal trainer interacting with a male customer ($p < .001$, Figure 26); male personal trainer interacting with a female customer ($p < .001$, Figure 27); and female personal trainer interacting with a female customer ($p < .001$, Figure 28).

Similarly, an ANOVA investigating the effect of the value-expressive function and study condition on intentions to approach the service provider produced a significant result, $F(15, 934) = 7.00$; $p < .001$; results are shown in Table 38. As noted in Table 39, mean differences were significant in only two conditions: female insurance agent interacting with female customer ($p < .001$, Figure 29), and male personal trainer interacting with male customer ($p < .001$, Figure 30).

Hypothesis 3a predicted that participants in the disclosure conditions would rate the hiring organization as more diversity-friendly than would those in the control condition. An ANOVA examining the effect of study condition on perceptions of diversity commitment revealed a significant result, $F(15, 960) = 15.36$; $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .196$. An analysis of mean ratings, provided in Table 40, revealed that all participants who viewed a gay male service provider rated the company as more diversity friendly than did participants who viewed an identically-situated heterosexual male service provider. This difference was statistically significant in the male insurance agent/male customer conditions ($p = .025$), the male agent/female customer conditions ($p < .001$), the male personal trainer/male customer conditions ($p < .001$), and the male personal trainer/female customer conditions ($p < .001$). However, ratings from participants viewing lesbian service providers were mixed: perceptions of the company as diversity

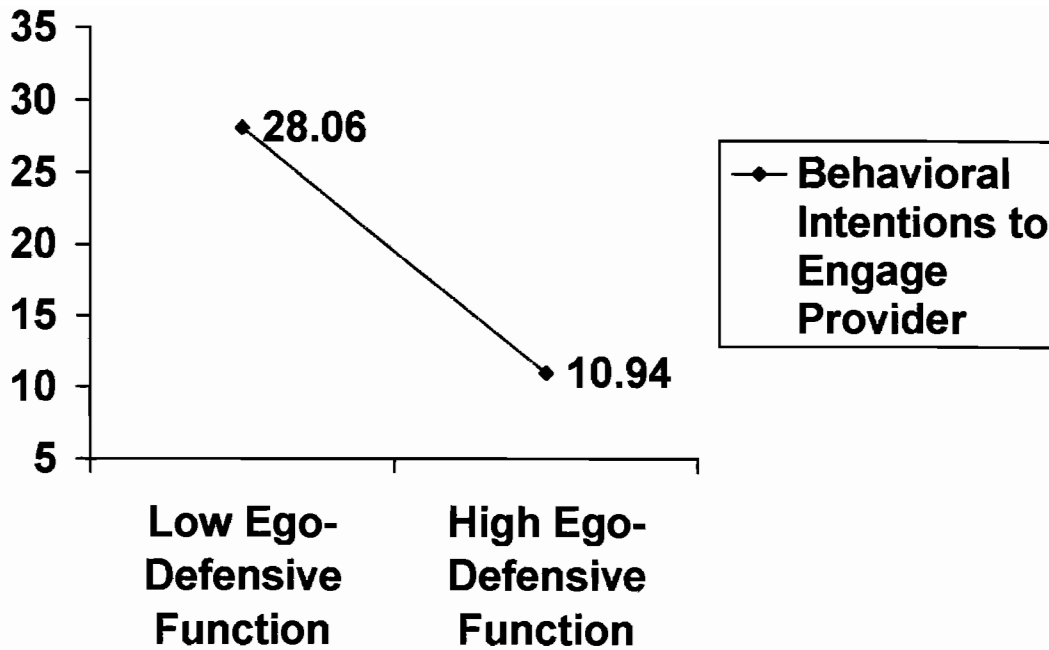


Figure 25: Study 2: Interaction Between Ego-Defensive Attitude Function and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Lesbian Insurance Agent Interacting with Female Customer

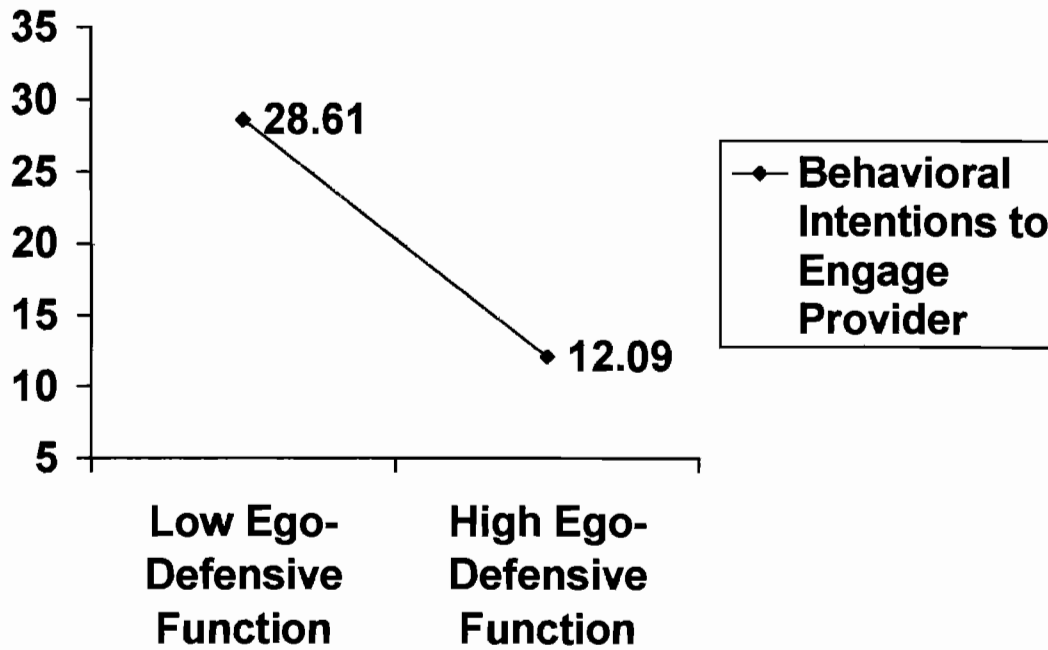


Figure 26: Study 2: Interaction Between Ego-Defensive Attitude Function and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay Male Personal Trainer Interacting with Male Customer

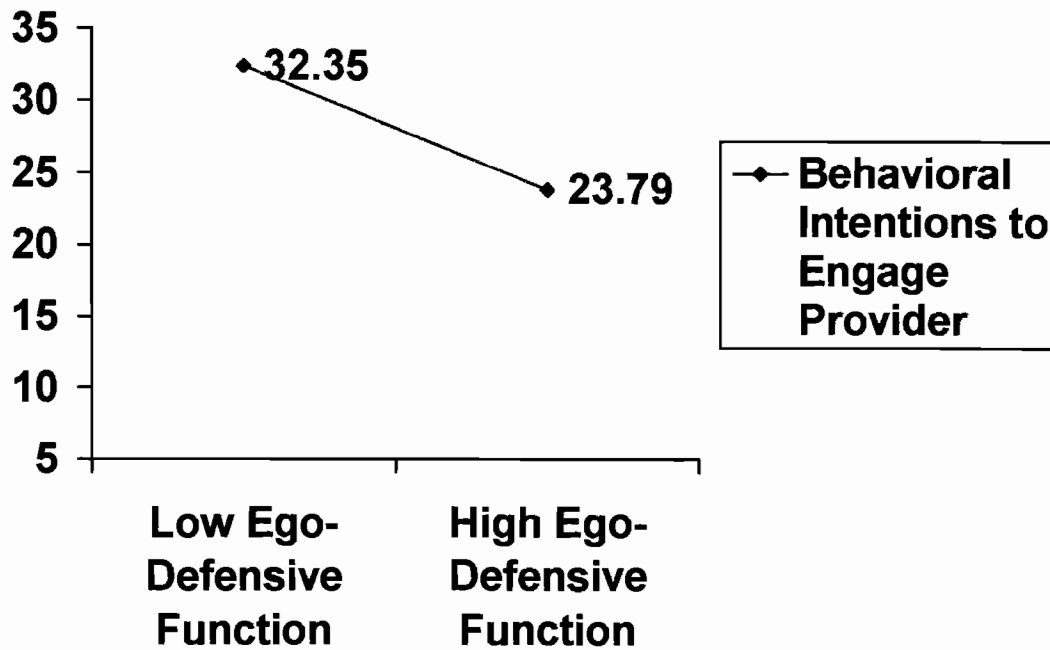


Figure 27: Study 2: Interaction Between Ego-Defensive Attitude Function and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay Male Personal Trainer Interacting with Female Customer

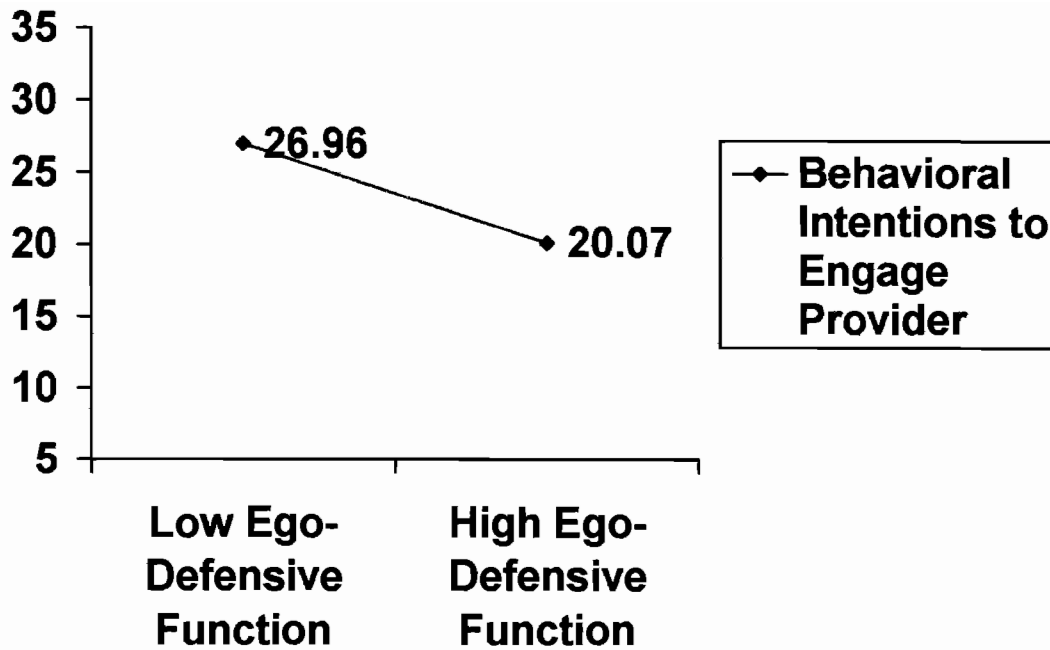


Figure 28: Study 2: Interaction Between Ego-Defensive Attitude Function and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Lesbian Personal Trainer Interacting with Female Customer

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	256.13	4.71	.000	.073
Value-Expressive Attitude Function	1	2007.26	36.94	.000	.039
Condition x Value-Expressive Attitude Function	15	380.62	7.00	.000	.104
Total	934				

Table 38: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Behavioral Intentions to Engage Service Provider by Study Condition and Value-Expressive Attitude

Function

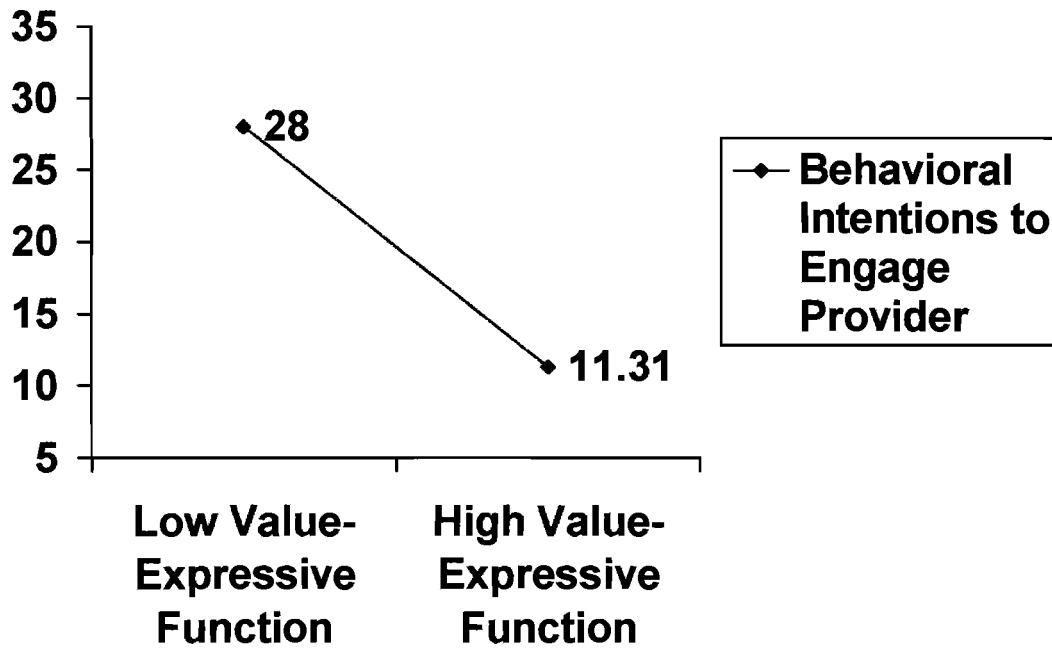


Figure 29: Study 2: Interaction Between Value-Expressive Attitude Function and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Lesbian Insurance Agent Interacting with Female Customer

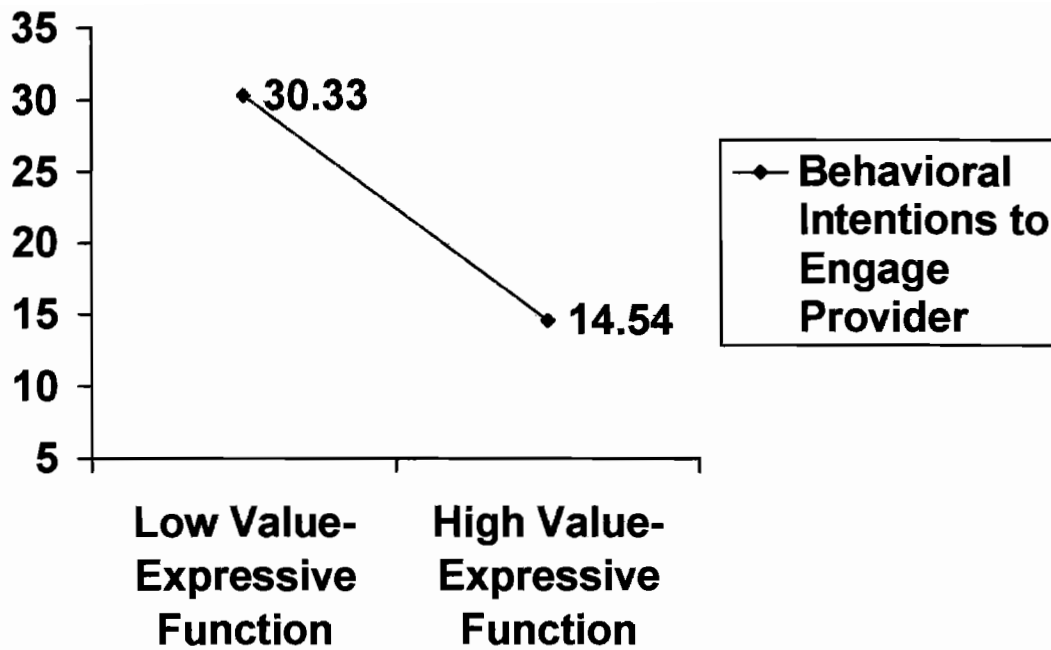


Figure 30: Study 2: Interaction Between Value-Expressive Attitude Function and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay Male Personal Trainer Interacting with Male Customer

friendly were significantly higher only when the lesbian insurance agent interacted with the female customer ($p < .001$). This hypothesis was fully supported only for gay men.

Hypothesis 3b predicted a positive correlation between the perception of a company's commitment to diversity and ratings of perceived procedural justice. As noted in Table 16, the Pearson product moment correlation test showed a significant relationship between these two variables, $r = .60$; $p < .001$. This hypothesis was supported.

Hypothesis 3c predicted a positive correlation between ratings of procedural justice and desire to pursue employment with the organization. As noted in Table 16, a Pearson product moment correlation test showed a significant relationship between the two variables, $r = .63$; $p < .001$. This hypothesis was supported.

Hypothesis 3d proposed a test of the model shown in Figure 2, indicating that perceptions of procedural justice would mediate the relationship between perceptions of a company as diversity-friendly and desire to work for the company. Data analysis procedures were identical to those used in Study 1, and consistent with Baron and Kenny's (1986) recommended approach. I again estimated three regression equations: first, regressing the mediator (justice perceptions) on the independent variable (diversity perceptions); second, regressing the dependent variable (company desirability) on the independent variable (diversity perceptions); and third, regressing the dependent variable (company desirability) on both the independent variable (diversity perceptions) and the mediator (justice perceptions). Results are shown in Table 41. I then examined the equations for evidence of mediation. First, the independent variable must affect the mediator in the first equation. This condition was met ($\beta = .60$; $p < .001$). Second, the

Equation 1: Regression of Justice Perceptions on Diversity Perceptions

	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	β
Diversity	.60	.028	.596***

Equation 2: Regression of Company Desirability on Diversity Perceptions

	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	β
Diversity	.49	.046	.494***

Equation 3: Regression of Company Desirability on Diversity Perceptions and Justice Perceptions

	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	β
Diversity	.19	.050	.188*
Justice	.78	.047	.514**

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 41: Study 2: Regression Analysis of Justice Perceptions' Mediating Role in the Relationship Between Perceptions that a Company is Committed to Diversity and Desirability of that Company as an Employer

independent variable must affect the dependent variable in the second equation. This condition was also met ($\beta = .49$; $p < .001$). Third, the mediator must affect the dependent variable in the third equation. This condition was also met ($\beta = .51$; $p < .001$). Finally, the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable should be less in the third equation than in the second. As Table 41 reveals, the effect of diversity perceptions on company desirability declined from $\beta = .49$ in Equation 2 to $\beta = .19$ in Equation 3. I concluded that justice perceptions did mediate the relationship between diversity perceptions and company desirability, and that this hypothesis was supported.

Hypothesis 3e predicted that participants high in heterosexism would report less desire to seek employment with an organization employing a gay service provider than would participants low in heterosexism. I first performed an ANOVA investigating the effect of study condition and heterosexism toward gays on perceptions of the company's desirability; results are shown in Table 42. The interaction term was significant, $F(15, 923) = 3.82$; $p < .001$, and mean scores for each condition in which participants viewed a gay service provider are shown in Table 43. Participants high in heterosexism rated the company as significantly less desirable only when viewing a male personal trainer interacting with a male ($p < .001$; Figure 31) and female ($p = .034$; Figure 32).

Second, I performed an ANOVA investigating the effect of study condition and heterosexism toward lesbians on perceptions of the company's desirability as an employer; results are shown in Table 44. The interaction term was significant, $F(15, 934) = 3.82$; $p < .001$, and mean scores for each condition in which participants viewed a lesbian service provider are shown in Table 45. Post hoc tests indicated that only participants high in heterosexism toward lesbians who viewed a female insurance agent

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	64.27	5.61	.000	.086
Heterosexism	1	986.87	88.19	.000	.088
Condition x Heterosexism	15	43.73	3.82	.000	.060
Total	923				

Table 42: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Heterosexism Toward Gays

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Low Heterosexism Toward Gays</u>			<u>High Heterosexism Toward Gays</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Gay Agent/Male Customer	16.94	3.17	19	14.49	1.67	41	2.45
Gay Agent/Female Customer	17.79	1.93	38	16.75	2.88	20	1.04
Gay Trainer/Male Customer	17.06	4.11	16	8.90	5.12	21	8.16***
Gay Trainer/Female Customer	17.74	2.68	19	14.18	1.17	34	3.56*

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 43: Study 2: Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Heterosexism Toward Gays

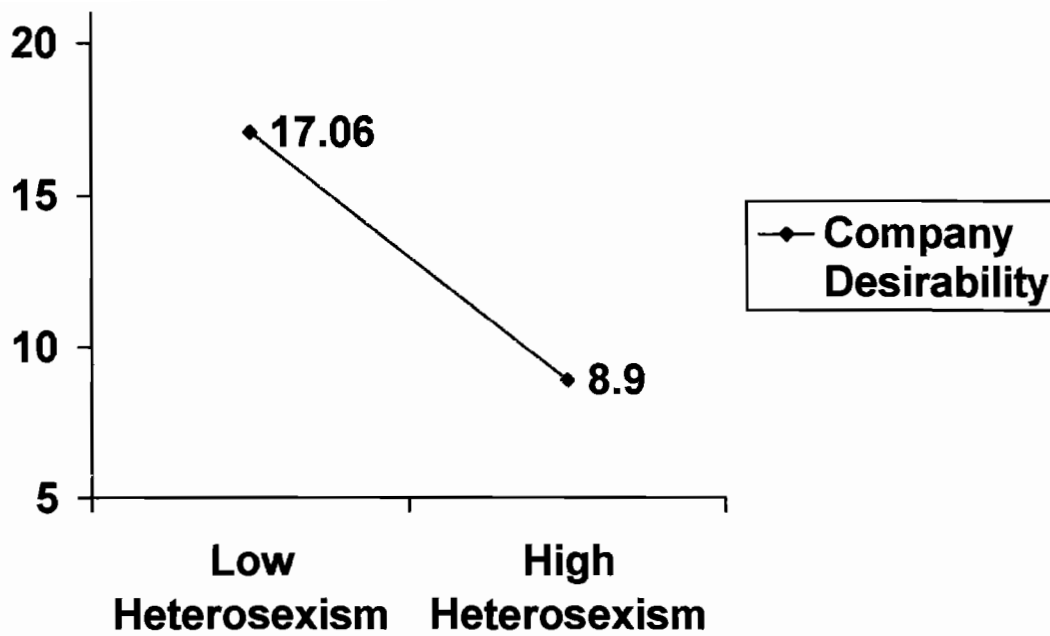


Figure 31: Study 2: Interaction Between Heterosexism Toward Gays and Study Condition on Desirability of Working for Company when Gay Male Personal Trainer Interacts with Male Customer

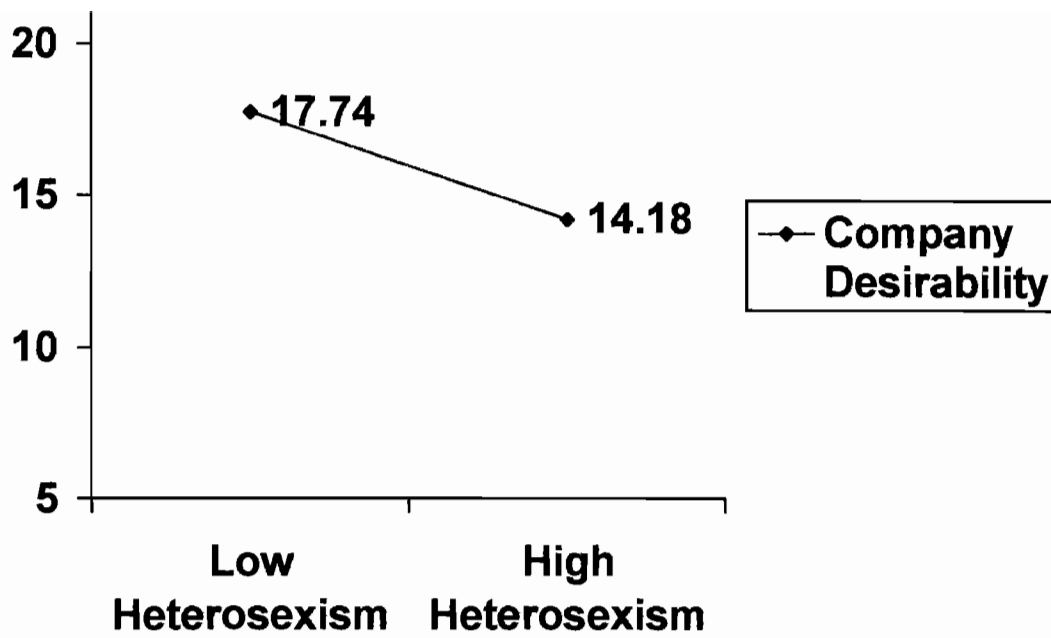


Figure 32: Study 2: Interaction Between Heterosexism Toward Gays and Study Condition on Desirability of Working for Company when Gay Male Personal Trainer Interacts with Female Customer

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	61.69	5.05	.000	.077
Heterosexism	1	292.56	23.95	.000	.026
Condition x Heterosexism	15	46.70	3.82	.000	.060
Total	934				

Table 44: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Heterosexism Toward Lesbians

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Low Heterosexism Toward Lesbians</u>			<u>High Heterosexism Toward Lesbians</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Lesbian Agent/Male Customer	17.68	2.32	25	15.00	2.69	35	2.68*
Lesbian Agent/Female Customer	14.67	5.24	15	15.06	1.26	48	-0.39
Lesbian Trainer/Male Customer	16.04	4.28	25	16.06	2.31	31	-0.02
Lesbian Trainer/Female Customer	13.14	4.81	37	15.24	1.62	37	-2.10
* $p < .05$							
** $p < .01$							
*** $p < .001$							

Table 45: Study 2: Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Heterosexism Toward Lesbians

interacting with a male customer rated the company as significantly less desirable ($p = .041$, Figure 33). This hypothesis received mixed support.

Hypothesis 3f predicted that participants with a strong conservative religious orientation would report less desire to seek employment with an organization hiring a gay service provider than would participants with a weak or no religious orientation. Again, I performed an ANOVA to examine the effect of study condition and religious orientation on desire to be employed by a company with a gay or lesbian employee; results are in Table 46. The interaction term was significant, $F(15, 953) = 1.74$; $p = .040$, and mean scores for each condition in which participants viewed a gay or lesbian service provider are shown in Table 47. Post hoc tests revealed that none of the mean differences reached statistical significance. Consequently, this hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 3g predicted that participants with strong gender role identification would rate a company employing a gay service provider as a less desirable employer than would those with weak gender role identification. An ANOVA investigating the effect of study condition and gender role identification on company desirability revealed a significant interaction term, $F(15, 944) = 6.05$; $p < .001$; results are shown in Table 48. Mean scores for each condition in which participants viewed gay or lesbian service providers are shown in Table 49. Post hoc tests indicated that participants with high gender role identification rated the company as significantly less desirable than those with low gender role identification only when viewing a gay personal trainer interacting with a male ($p < .001$; Figure 34) and female ($p < .001$; Figure 35) client.

Hypothesis 3h predicted that the function of participants' attitudes toward lesbians and gays would moderate their perceptions of the organization as a desirable employer.

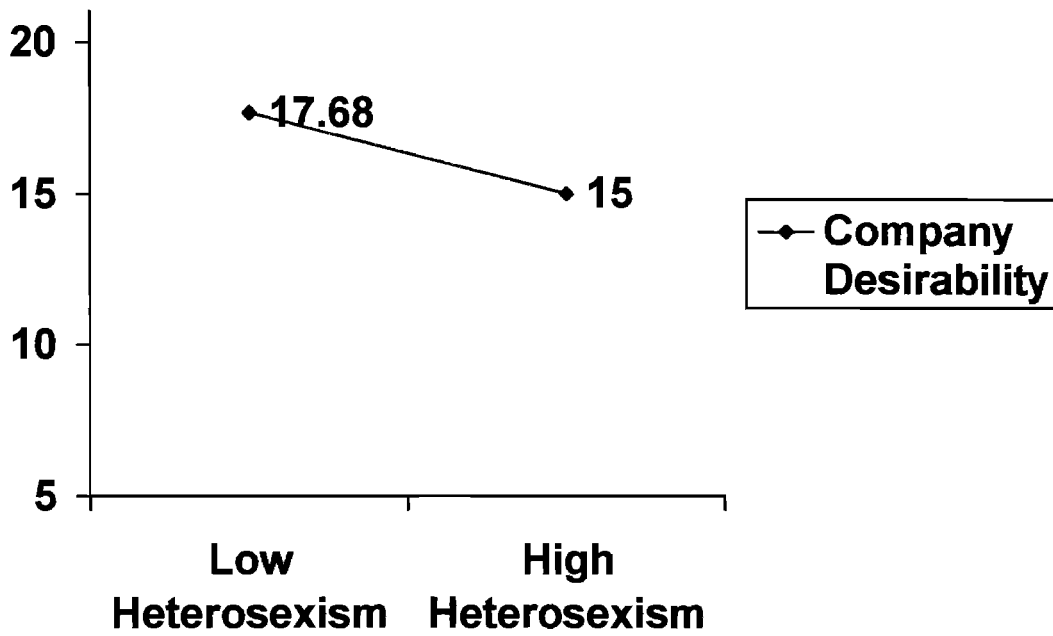


Figure 33: Study 2: Interaction Between Heterosexism Toward Lesbians and Study Condition on Desirability of Working for Company when Lesbian Insurance Agent Interacts with Male Customer

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	105.80	8.29	.000	.119
Religious Orientation	1	48.82	3.82	.051	.004
Condition x Religious Orientation	15	22.17	1.74	.040	.027
Total	953				

Table 46: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Conservative Religious Orientation

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Low Religious Orientation</u>			<u>High Religious Orientation</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Gay Agent/Male Customer	16.75	2.51	24	14.28	1.99	36	2.47
Gay Agent/Female Customer	17.54	2.27	39	17.55	2.52	22	-0.01
Lesbian Agent/Male Customer	16.44	2.41	27	15.85	3.18	33	0.59
Lesbian Agent/Female Customer	13.75	4.89	16	15.38	1.24	47	-1.63
Gay Trainer/Male Customer	12.55	3.49	36	14.64	2.65	14	-2.09
Gay Trainer/Female Customer	17.15	3.10	13	14.90	2.05	40	2.25
Lesbian Trainer/Male Customer	15.54	3.84	35	16.90	1.95	21	-1.36
Lesbian Trainer/Female Customer	15.00	3.28	18	14.15	3.33	41	0.85

* p < .05

** p < .01

*** p < .001

Table 47: Study 2: Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Conservative Religious Orientation

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	62.39	5.71	.000	.086
Gender Role Identification	1	1063.10	97.23	.000	.096
Condition x Gender Role Identification	15	66.18	6.05	.000	.091
Total	944				

Table 48: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Gender Role Identification

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Low Gender Role Identification</u>			<u>High Gender Role Identification</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Gay Agent/Male Customer	14.88	2.13	43	16.24	3.15	17	-1.36
Gay Agent/Female Customer	18.31	1.87	35	16.50	2.53	26	1.81
Lesbian Agent/Male Customer	17.50	2.74	24	15.19	2.57	36	2.31
Lesbian Agent/Female Customer	15.33	4.14	15	14.85	2.16	48	0.48
Gay Trainer/Male Customer	17.50	4.01	18	8.19	3.92	21	9.31 ^{***}
Gay Trainer/Female Customer	17.53	2.98	17	14.47	1.50	36	3.06 ^{***}
Lesbian Trainer/Male Customer	16.48	4.04	27	15.66	2.44	29	0.82
Lesbian Trainer/Female Customer	15.13	2.70	15	14.16	3.49	44	0.97

* p < .05

** p < .01

*** p < .001

Table 49: Study 2: Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Gender Role Identification

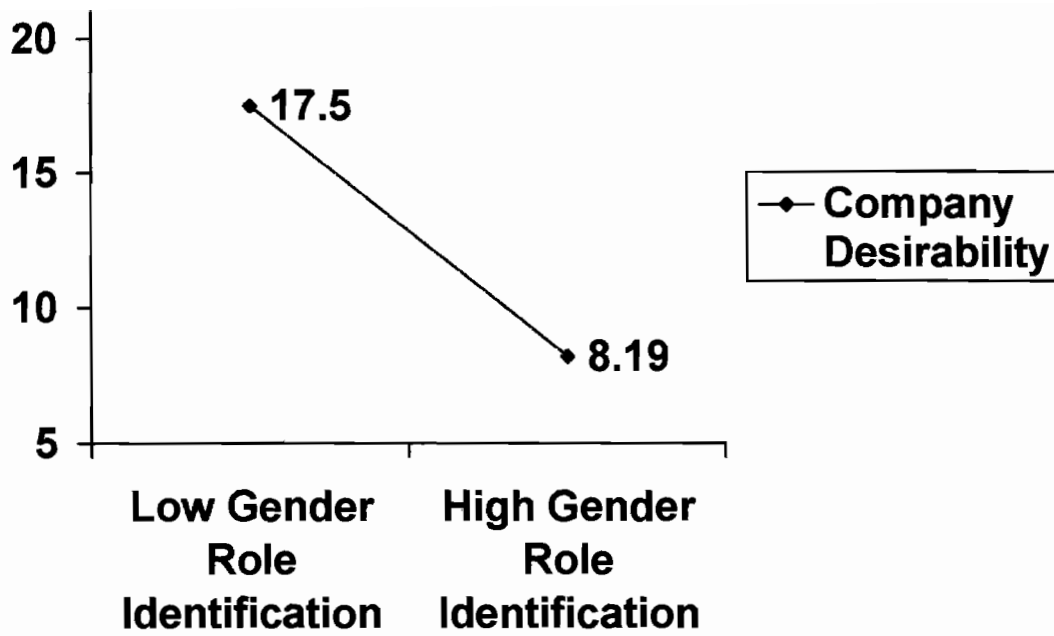


Figure 34: Study 2: Interaction Between Gender Role Identification and Study Condition on Desirability of Working for Company when Gay Male Personal Trainer Interacts with Male Customer

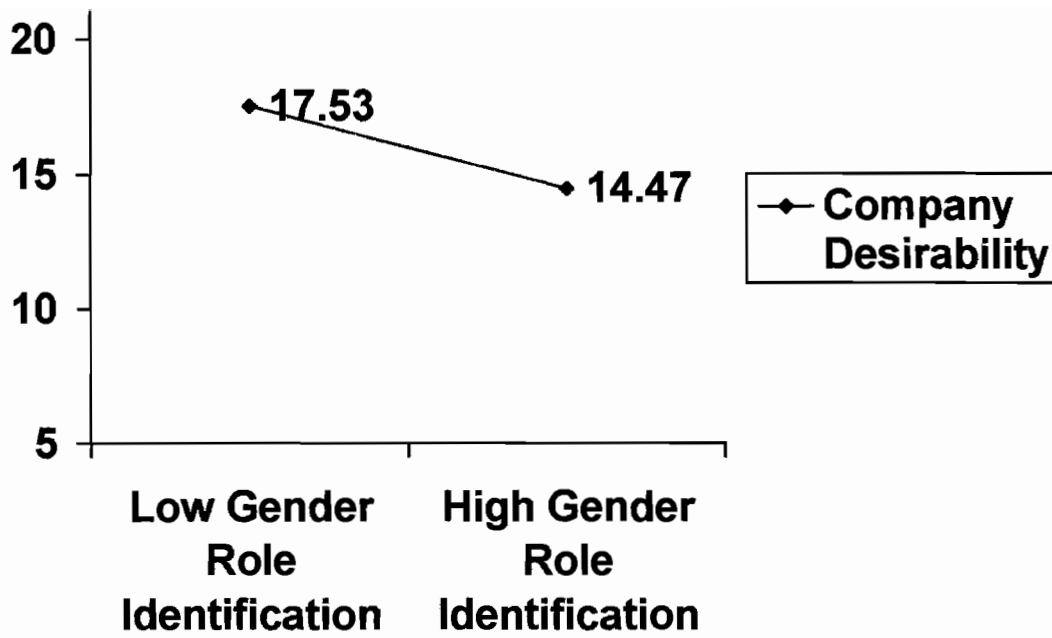


Figure 35: Study 2: Interaction Between Gender Role Identification and Study Condition on Desirability of Working for Company when Gay Male Personal Trainer Interacts with Female Customer

An ANOVA testing the effects of condition and the ego-defensive function revealed a significant interaction term, $F(15, 938) = 5.30$; $p < .001$; results are shown in Table 50 and scores for each condition in which participants viewed a gay or lesbian service provider are presented in Table 51. Mean differences were significant in the following conditions: lesbian insurance agent with male customer ($p < .001$; Figure 36); gay personal trainer interacting with male customer ($p < .001$, Figure 37); gay personal trainer interacting with female customer ($p < .001$, Figure 38); and lesbian personal trainer interacting with female customer ($p = .018$; Figure 39).

Similarly, an ANOVA testing the effects of condition and the value-expressive function on perceptions of company desirability revealed a significant interaction term, $F(15, 933) = 2.84$; $p < .001$. Results are shown in Table 52 and scores for each condition in which participants viewed a gay or lesbian service provider are presented in Table 53. Mean differences were statistically significant only in the condition wherein a gay personal trainer interacted with a male client, $p < .001$. Results are presented graphically in Figure 40.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that heterosexism toward lesbians would be lower than heterosexism toward gay men. A t-test of mean scores (noted in Table 16) for these variables revealed a significant result. Heterosexism toward gays ($M = 56.88$; $S.D. = 16.11$) was significantly higher than heterosexism toward lesbians ($M = 41.53$; $S.D. = 13.39$); $t(949) = 45.01$; $p < .001$). This hypothesis was fully supported.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that participants would report higher behavioral intentions to establish service relationships with gay and lesbian providers who did not share the participants' gender. To investigate this hypothesis, I conducted an ANOVA to

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	53.52	4.71	.000	.072
Ego-Defensive Function	1	814.15	71.76	.000	.073
Condition x Ego-Defensive Function	15	60.08	5.30	.000	.081
Total	938				

Table 50: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Ego-Defensive Attitude Function

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Low Ego-Defensive Function</u>			<u>High Ego-Defensive Function</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Gay Agent/Male Customer	16.38	3.14	26	14.41	1.44	34	1.97
Gay Agent/Female Customer	17.70	2.26	46	17.00	2.69	14	0.70
Lesbian Agent/Male Customer	17.59	2.32	29	14.74	2.63	31	2.85***
Lesbian Agent/Female Customer	15.19	4.17	16	14.89	2.09	47	0.30
Gay Trainer/Male Customer	17.47	3.76	17	8.62	4.72	21	8.85***
Gay Trainer/Female Customer	17.70	2.56	20	14.09	1.16	33	3.61***
Lesbian Trainer/Male Customer	16.29	3.72	31	15.76	2.76	25	0.53
Lesbian Trainer/Female Customer	15.61	2.33	28	13.43	3.72	30	2.18*

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 51: Study 2: Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Ego-Defensive Attitude Function

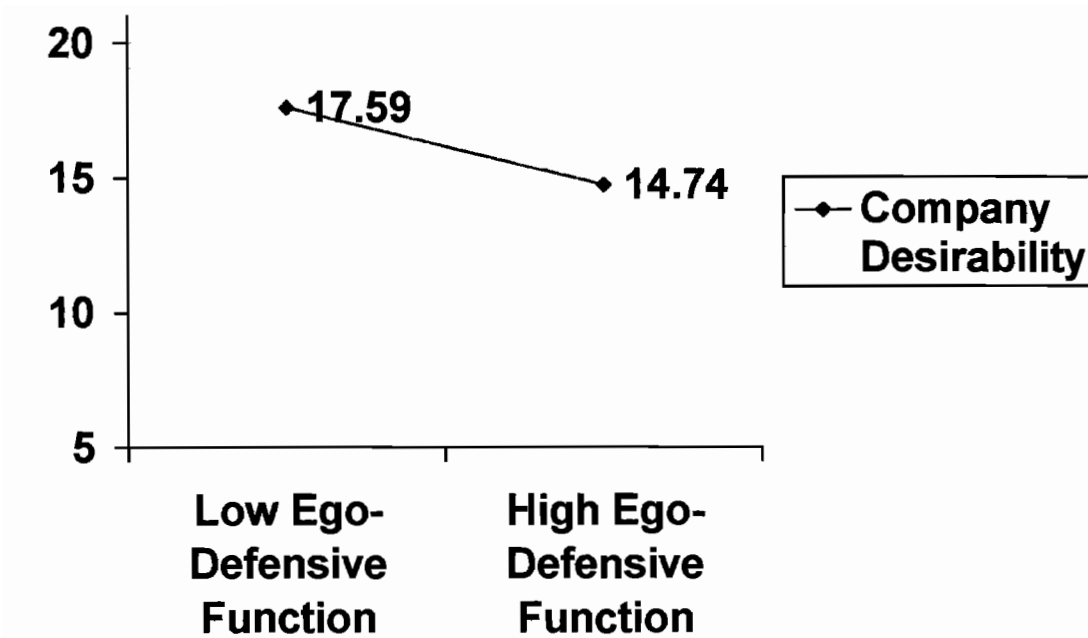


Figure 36: Study 2: Interaction Between Ego-Defensive Attitude Function and Study Condition on Desirability of Working for Company when Lesbian Insurance Agent Interacts with Male Customer

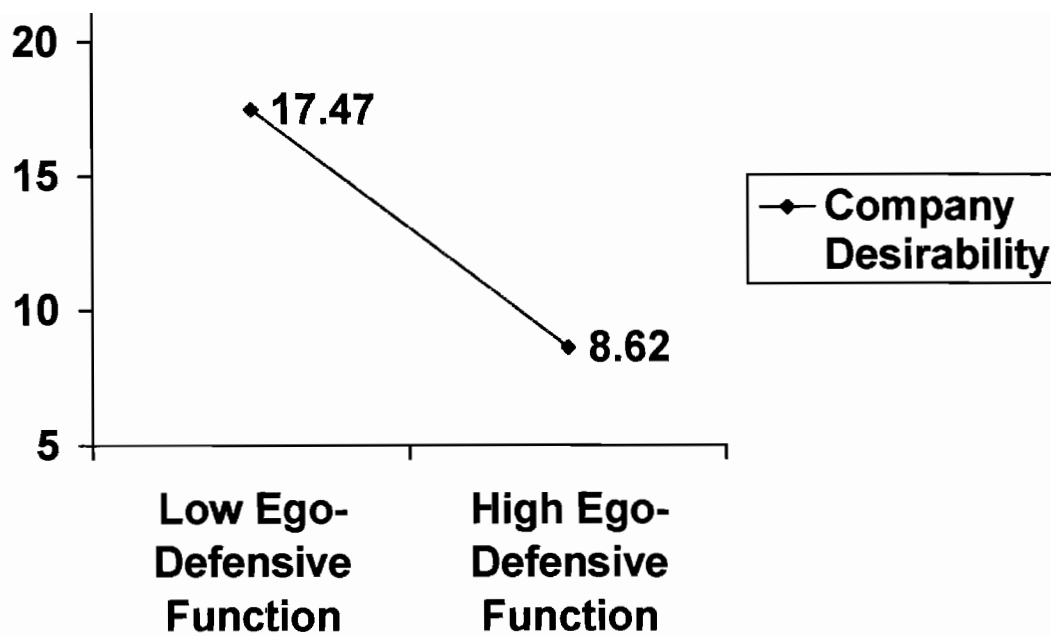


Figure 37: Study 2: Interaction Between Ego-Defensive Attitude Function and Study Condition on Desirability of Working for Company when Gay Male Personal Trainer Interacts with Male Customer

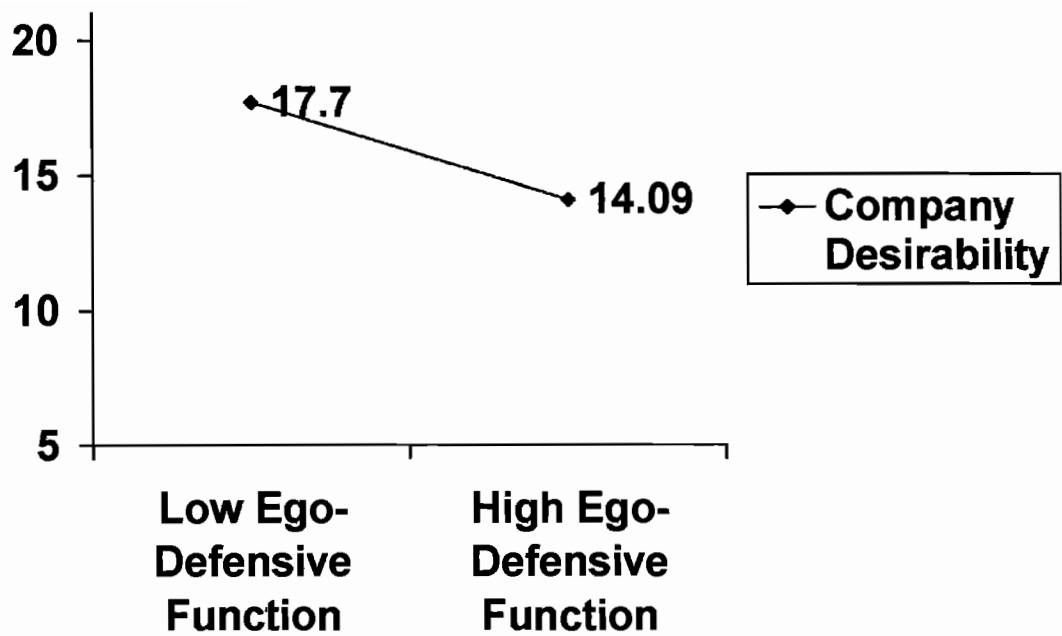


Figure 38: Study 2: Interaction Between Ego-Defensive Attitude Function and Study Condition on Desirability of Working for Company when Gay Male Personal Trainer Interacts with Female Customer

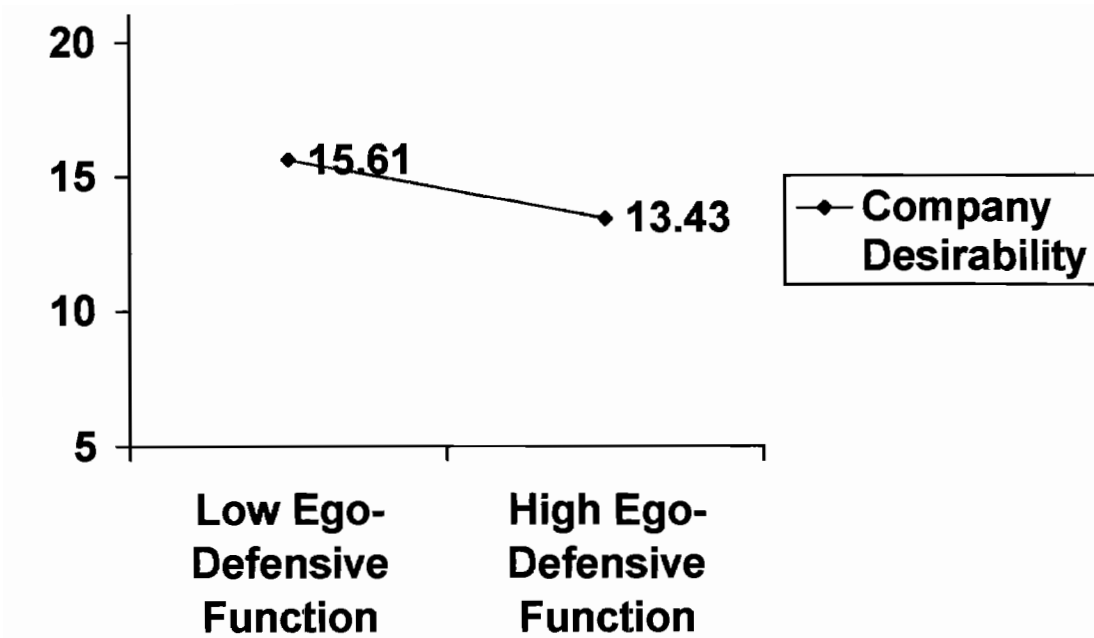


Figure 39: Study 2: Interaction Between Ego-Defensive Attitude Function and Study Condition on Desirability of Working for Company when Lesbian Personal Trainer Interacts with Female Customer

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	60.97	4.94	.000	.076
Value-Expressive Function	1	336.60	27.26	.000	.029
Condition x Value-Expressive Function	15	32.03	2.84	.000	.045
Total	933				

Table 52: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Value-Expressive Attitude Function

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Low Value-Expressive Function</u>			<u>High Value-Expressive Function</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Gay Agent/Male Customer	16.09	3.24	22	14.79	1.86	38	1.30
Gay Agent/Female Customer	17.48	2.20	42	17.67	2.77	60	-0.19
Lesbian Agent/Male Customer	17.29	2.66	24	15.33	2.74	36	1.96
Lesbian Agent/Female Customer	15.20	4.31	15	14.90	2.07	48	0.30
Gay Trainer/Male Customer	17.25	4.11	12	10.42	5.80	26	6.83***
Gay Trainer/Female Customer	16.82	3.34	17	14.81	1.72	36	1.51
Lesbian Trainer/Male Customer	16.18	3.66	28	15.93	2.97	28	0.25
Lesbian Trainer/Female Customer	14.89	2.38	28	14.10	3.96	30	0.79

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 53: Study 2: Desirability of Working for Company by Study Condition and Value-Expressive Attitude Function

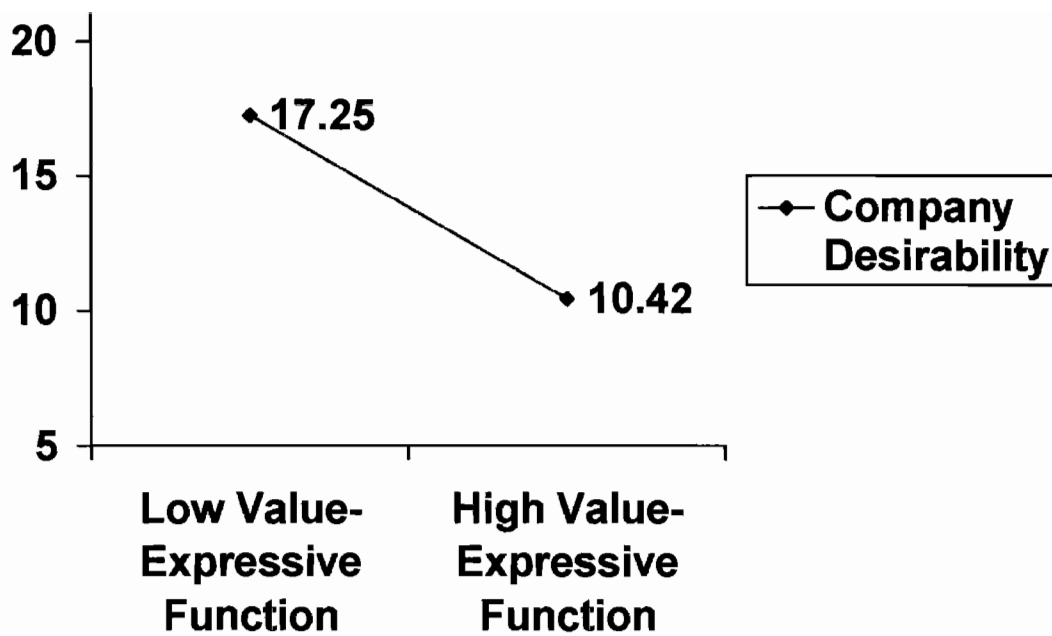


Figure 40: Study 2: Interaction Between Value-Expressive Attitude Function and Study Condition on Desirability of Working for Company when Gay Male Personal Trainer Interacts with Male Customer

determine the effect of study condition and participant gender on behavioral intentions to approach a gay or lesbian service provider; results are shown in Table 54. The interaction term was significant, $F(15, 887) = 6.54$; $p < .001$, and mean scores for men and women in each condition where a gay or lesbian service provider was viewed are shown in Table 55. Post hoc planned comparisons revealed that men reported significantly lower behavioral intentions to engage gay male service providers than did women in three of the four study conditions presenting a gay male: gay insurance agent with a female customer ($p = .008$; Figure 41); gay personal trainer with a male customer ($p < .001$; Figure 42); and gay personal trainer with a female customer ($p < .001$; Figure 43). However, female participants were not significantly less likely than men to engage lesbian service providers in any study condition; in fact, differences were statistically significant in the direction opposite that hypothesized in two conditions. Women reported higher behavioral intentions to engage lesbian service providers than did men when witnessing the lesbian insurance agent interacting with each of a male ($p < .001$) and female ($p < .001$) customer. This hypothesis received support only for male participants contemplating the engagement of gay male service providers.

Hypothesis 6 predicted that participants would report higher behavioral intentions to establish service relationships with gay and lesbian insurance agents, and lower behavioral intentions to establish service relationships with gay and lesbian personal trainers. An ANOVA investigating the effect of study condition on desire to approach the service provider showed a significant result, $F(15, 961) = 13.27$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .174$. In a series of planned comparisons, I investigated the difference between desire to engage insurance agents and personal trainers that were presented in the same gender dyads (i.e.,

Source	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	15	245.10	4.99	.000	.081
Gender	1	2820.85	53.36	.000	.059
Condition x Gender	15	321.14	6.54	.000	.103
Total	887				

Table 54: Study 2: Analysis of Variance in Behavioral Intentions to Engage Service Provider by Study Condition and Participant Gender

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Male Gender</u>			<u>Female Gender</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Gay Agent/Male Customer	25.69	5.40	16	24.27	4.28	41	1.42
Gay Agent/Female Customer	28.55	6.12	31	31.14	4.87	28	-2.59**
Lesbian Agent/Male Customer	24.30	5.40	40	27.50	6.48	20	-3.20***
Lesbian Agent/Female Customer	24.33	8.57	9	28.80	7.52	15	-4.47***
Gay Trainer/Male Customer	11.15	8.70	40	29.50	4.40	14	-18.35***
Gay Trainer/Female Customer	24.66	4.15	38	33.50	1.79	14	-8.84***
Lesbian Trainer/Male Customer	23.63	5.01	35	23.86	8.59	21	-0.23
Lesbian Trainer/Female Customer	22.77	6.81	35	24.38	7.28	24	-1.61

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 55: Study 2: Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay/Lesbian Service Provider by Study Condition and Participant Gender

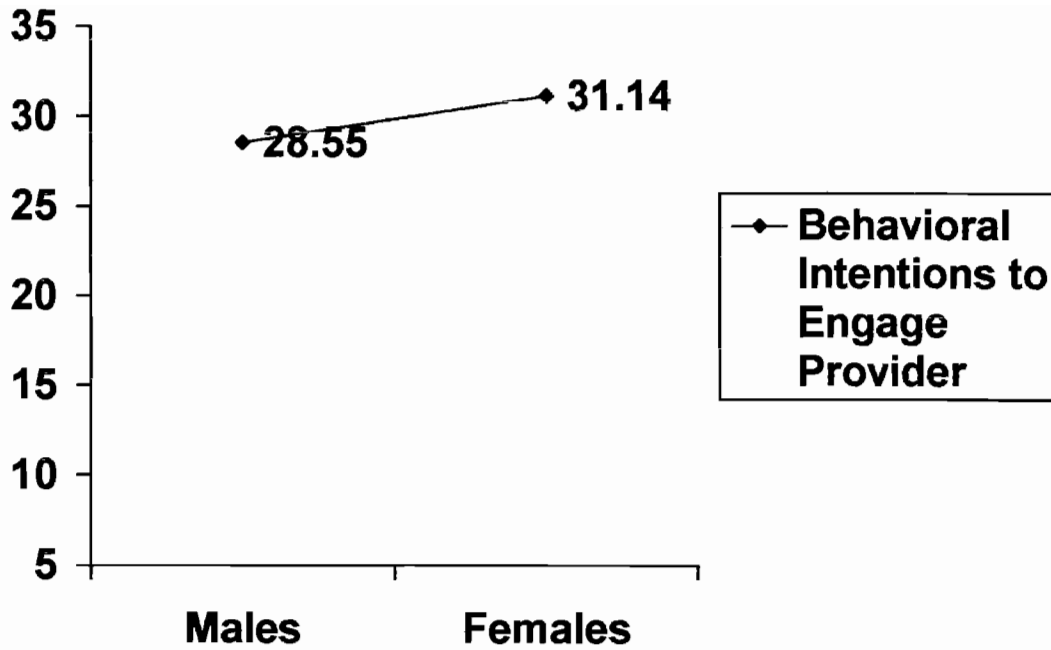


Figure 41: Study 2: Interaction Between Participant Gender and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay Male Insurance Agent Interacting with Female Customer

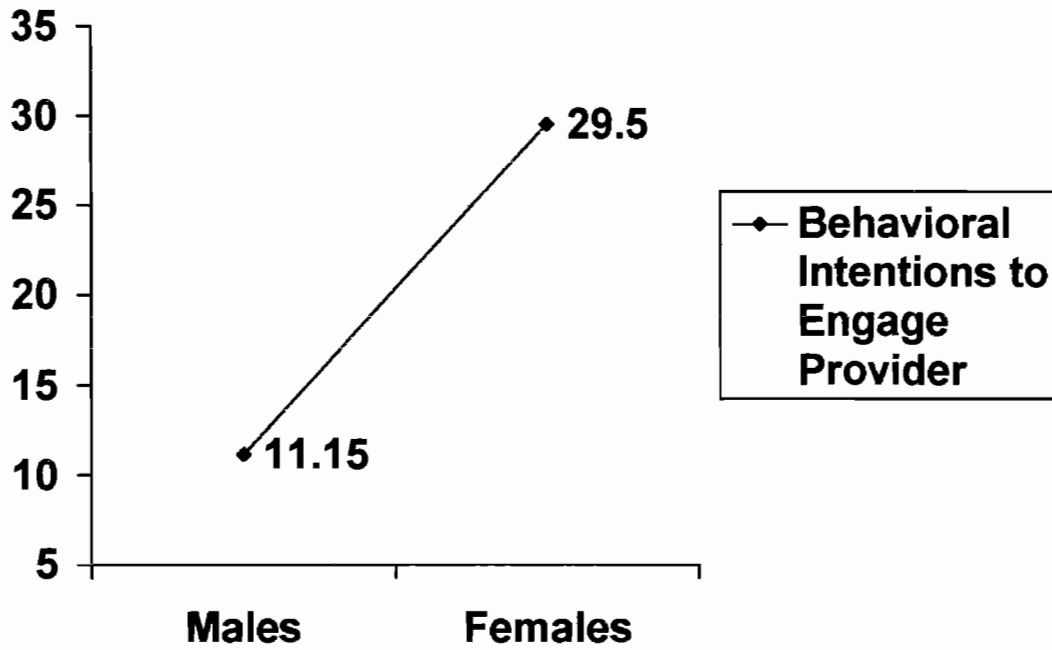


Figure 42: Study 2: Interaction Between Participant Gender and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay Male Personal Trainer Interacting with Male Customer

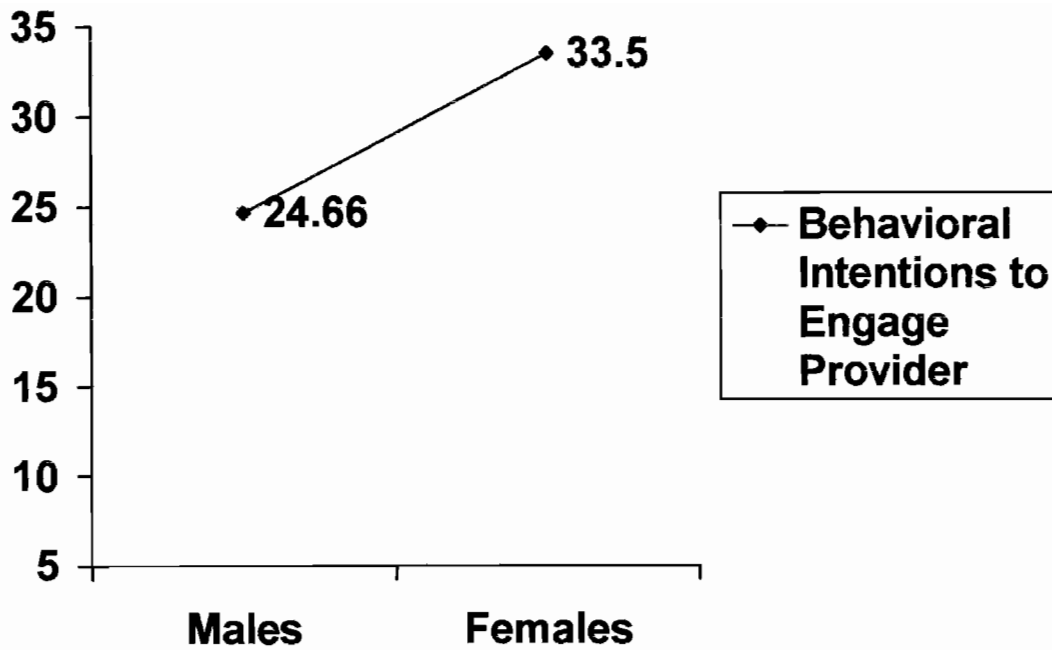


Figure 43: Study 2: Interaction Between Participant Gender and Study Condition on Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay Male Personal Trainer Interacting with Female Customer

comparing a gay insurance agent serving a male customer to a gay personal trainer serving a male customer). Results are shown in Table 56. As hypothesized, heterosexuals expressed a significantly stronger inclination to engage the gay male insurance agent than the gay male personal trainer when the customer was male ($p < .001$; Figure 44). However, this difference was insignificant when the customer was female; this was also the case when a female insurance agent interacted with a male client. In conditions where a lesbian service provider interacted with a female client, mean differences were significant, but in the opposite direction as hypothesized. Participants reported a significantly higher behavioral intention to engage the lesbian personal trainer than to engage the lesbian insurance agent ($p < .001$).

This chapter presented statistical results from Study 2. These findings are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Insurance Agent</u>			<u>Personal Trainer</u>			<u>Mean Difference</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>n</u>	
Gay Provider/Male Customer	24.88	4.71	60	16.11	11.23	55	8.77***
Gay Provider/Female Customer	29.62	5.64	61	27.02	5.33	53	2.60
Lesbian Provider/Male Customer	25.37	5.93	60	23.40	6.87	57	1.96
Lesbian Provider/Female Customer	15.29	10.57	63	23.43	7.00	59	-8.14***

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 56: Study 2: Behavioral Intentions to Engage Provider by Intimacy of Service Context

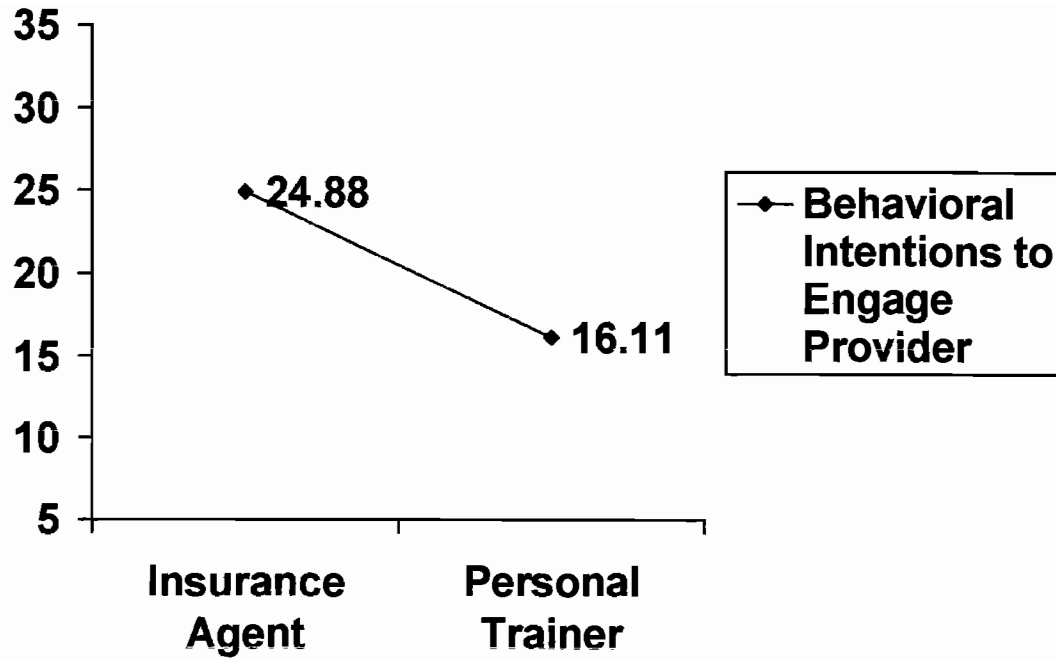


Figure 44: Study 2: Behavioral Intentions to Engage Gay Service Provider by Intimacy of Service Condition

CHAPTER 10

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS OF STUDY 2

I will begin this chapter with a discussion of the results relative to each of the three dependent variables in this study: perceptions of the performance of the service provider, behavioral intentions to engage the service provider, and perceptions of the company employing the service provider. I then discuss the implications and limitations of this research, and suggest the need for additional study in this arena.

Perceptions of the Service Providers' Performance

This study challenges the scope of the performance augmentation effect found by Kelley (1972). In a service encounter, a heterosexual customer may not use significantly lower performance standards in evaluating a service provider who is gay or lesbian. In this study, this effect was found only in the case of a gay male service provider interacting with a female customer in both the insurance agent and personal trainer contexts. Ratings for the lesbian service provider were not affected by this augmentation effect (Kelley, 1972). Moreover, the gay male provider's performance ratings were not inflated when he was viewed interacting with a male client.

Furthermore, this study challenges previous research finding that people who hold heterosexist attitudes toward gays and lesbians would make lower performance evaluations than usual because of the stigma for them associated with being gay or

lesbian. For these individuals, a positive performance evaluation would be inconsistent with their negative attitudes toward a gay or lesbian performer. In this study, individuals with highly heterosexist attitudes toward gay men made lower performance evaluations than did those with low heterosexism only when viewing a gay male personal trainer interacting with a male client. No effect of heterosexism was seen in other study conditions involving a gay male service provider. Moreover, heterosexist attitudes toward lesbians had no effect on participants' evaluations of a lesbian service provider's performance.

The literature reviewed earlier in this document provides two potential explanations for this phenomenon. First, it may be that participants in this study, while acknowledging their prejudiced attitudes toward gays and lesbians, engaged in the "watchdog" function described by Petty and his colleagues (Petty et. al., 1996) when making their performance evaluations. These individuals, while acknowledging their prejudicial attitudes, also hold chronic egalitarian goals prompting them to act fairly toward other people. This latter attitude may be both more accessible and more central to personal identity than are heterosexist attitudes. Consequently, these people do not allow heterosexist attitudes to interfere with their performance evaluation of gays and lesbians. The second possibility is that participants in this study did not feel that a positive performance evaluation of a gay man or lesbian was unpalatable, since there were no repercussions or outcomes associated with their appraisal. Consequently, they were able to acknowledge the gay or lesbian service providers' good performance with little cognitive dissonance to themselves. Regardless of the rationale, in this study heterosexist

attitudes did not have a robust effect on heterosexuals' evaluations of gays' and lesbians' work performance.

This study also challenges the tenet of social identity theory that members of in-groups who believe their group identity to be threatened by gay men and lesbians would not provide inflated performance ratings even while recognizing the stigma associated with being homosexual. In this study, participants' identification with a conservative religious in-group had no significant effect on performance evaluations of gay men or lesbians. Similarly, strong alignment with one's gender identity in-group had little effect on participants' ratings of gay or lesbian service providers' performance. Individuals with high traditional gender role affiliation provided lower performance ratings only for the lesbian personal trainer when she interacted with a male or female client. This result may be idiosyncratic to the way this study operationalized service provision. While participation in physical fitness activities has long been acceptable for women, the advent of women as authority figures in sports-related enterprises is relatively new. Individuals with traditional gender role orientations may have viewed a woman choosing to take a teaching/leadership role in athletics negatively because of this decision, a view that would have compounded their negative reaction to her same-sex orientation. It seems that mere membership in a sexual orientation out-group does not automatically prompt negative evaluations, either to reaffirm the superiority of the in-group or to maximize felt differences between the in-group and the out-group. Again, this may result from the lack of cost or repercussions of evaluations. Since the evaluations were made privately and in a laboratory context, they may not have affected the maintenance of in-group self-image.

Overall, social identity theory proved to be a relatively weak predictor of performance evaluation biases.

Similarly, the function of heterosexuals' attitudes toward gays and lesbians did not have a robust effect on performance perceptions. Those who reported that their attitudes toward lesbians and gays served an ego-defensive function provided lower evaluations only in the condition of a lesbian personal trainer interacting with a female customer. The value-expressive function had no effect on evaluations. The functional perspective of attitudes suggests that attitudes that serve ego-defensive and value-expressive functions are of primary importance to individuals; thus it is surprising, in functional perspective terms, that these attitudes had no effect on heterosexuals' evaluations of gays' and lesbians' service performance.

Essentially, results from this study suggest that the out-group evaluation extremity bias supported by previous research in the social identity theory tradition does not apply to heterosexuals' evaluations of the service provided by gay and lesbian service providers in a laboratory setting. Previous research in this area has often relied on explicit cues triggering in-group alliances to strengthen the perceived importance of in-group ties before evaluations of out-group members are provided (for a review, see Brewer & Brown, 1998). This study did not provide such cues, but instead sought to determine if the strength of heterosexual in-group ties and/or of negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians were sufficient in and of themselves to influence performance evaluations. These results indicate that they were not.

Behavioral Intentions to Engage Service Provider

This study confirmed that consumers seek service relationships with competent service providers: the strong positive relationship between perceptions of provider competence and expressed desire to engage the services of the provider is testimony to this phenomenon. However, the literature confirms that service relationships are judged largely on their intangible qualities, and that one of these qualities is the rapport and feelings of personal satisfaction that customers experience. Moreover, establishing a service relationship does involve some vulnerability on the part of the consumer, since research has established that anxiety about exchange relationships is diminished when the service relationship is comfortable. To avoid this anxiety, people are likely to seek service relationships in which they feel good. Consequently, we would expect that heterosexuals who are not comfortable interacting with gay men or lesbians, for a variety of reasons, would not report intentions to engage gays and lesbians in service relationships. The results of this study support this contention.

Specifically, participants with heterosexist attitudes toward gay men reported significantly lower intentions to engage gay service providers than did those low in heterosexist attitudes. This difference was statistically significant in three of the four study conditions involving a gay service provider. This suggests that heterosexuals who have heterosexist attitudes toward gays are not likely to seek them out as exchange partners in service relationships. Heterosexism toward lesbians similarly influenced participants' stated desire to engage the services of a lesbian insurance agent, although this finding was not replicated with a lesbian personal trainer. In this study, heterosexist

attitudes were relatively robust predictors of behavioral intentions to discriminate against gays and lesbians in the formation of service relationships.

Conversely, this study did not strongly support social identity theory-related predictions about heterosexuals' willingness to establish service relationships with gay and lesbian out-group members. Conservative religious involvement affected participants' willingness to engage only the lesbian personal trainer in the scenario wherein she served a female client. However, adherence to a traditional gender role identity was a stronger predictor of behavioral intentions to discriminate against gays and lesbians: individuals with strong adherence to traditional gender roles reported significantly less desire than did those without this adherence to engage the lesbian insurance agent (interacting with both a male and female customer), and the gay personal trainer, again interacting with both a male and female customer. As in the findings related to performance perceptions, traditional gender role norms appear to be a more salient in-group than that provided by alliance with a conservative religion.

The most robust predictor of participants' behavioral intentions to pursue or reject a service relationship with a gay man or lesbian was the ego-defensive function of their heterosexist attitudes. Participants whose attitudes served this function reported significantly less desire to establish a service relationship with a homosexual service provider in six of the eight conditions in which a gay or lesbian server was presented; only the male insurance agent interacting with a female customer and the female personal trainer interacting with a male customer did not produce this result. Interestingly, these two scenarios represent relatively benign interpersonal contexts, since service providers were viewed interacting with customers of the opposite gender. Indeed, the effects of

ego-defensive attitude function in the most potentially threatening condition, that of the gay personal trainer working with a male client, were dramatic. These findings suggest that attitudes playing an ego-defensive function are important predictors of discriminatory behavior because of the strong likelihood that people will act in accordance with those attitudes, particularly when their own interactions and potential interpersonal comfort are on the line.

Value-expressive attitudes did not predict behavioral intentions to engage the service provider as robustly as did ego-defensive attitudes. Value-expressive attitudes were related to intentions to avoid service relationships only with the female insurance agent interacting with a female client, and the male personal trainer interacting with a male client. Again, it appears that the relatively threatening scenario of a gay male serving a male customer in a physically intimate context is the “litmus test” for individuals with heterosexist attitudes: those whose heterosexist attitudes are linked to the need to maintain and express personally-held values were only likely to reject interacting with a gay man in this context. Other scenarios did not appear to imply the same restriction on expression of personal mores.

This study also challenges a number of prior studies indicating that men and women each prefer to interact with gay men and lesbians of the opposite gender. In this study, women were much more accepting of service relationships with both lesbians and gay men than were heterosexual males. This finding supports previous studies that have demonstrated that women are much more comfortable with gender role violations generally, and with same-sex orientations specifically, than are men. This occurs even

when women are faced with the prospect of engaging a lesbian service provider in a potentially physically intimate context.

Related to this is the finding that the level of intimacy in the service relationship is more salient when heterosexuals consider gay males as service providers, and less salient when lesbians are considered. Participants reported that they preferred the gay male insurance agent to the gay male personal trainer as a potential service relationship partner. However, when considering lesbian providers, the opposite was true: participants reported a preference for the lesbian personal trainer over the lesbian insurance agent. Again, this result indicates that heterosexuals are more sensitive to, and likely to report prejudice and discriminatory behavioral intentions toward, gay men rather than lesbians.

Reactions to Employing Organization

I asked participants to provide three kinds of ratings of the company employing the service provider. First, I examined attributions that the company was diversity-friendly on the basis of its employment of a member of a stigmatized group. Second, I investigated the relationship between attributions that a company was committed to good diversity management practices and perceptions that the company had fair procedures in place for all personnel. Finally, I asked participants to report their personal desire to work for the company, paying particular attention to independent variables that previous research suggests would color people's desire to work for a company that supports openly gay and lesbian workers. I discuss results in each of these areas in the following sections.

Company's Commitment to Diversity

This study confirmed the salience of only gay male service providers.

Participants attributed diversity-friendly management policies to the company employing the service provider in every condition in which the employee was a gay male. This result is consistent with previous studies indicating that consumers of services make judgments about organizations employing service providers on the basis of their interaction with those individual providers. However, it is noteworthy that the attribution of diversity-friendly policies was only made in one of the four study conditions in which a lesbian service provider was presented, that of the lesbian insurance agent interacting with a female customer. Again, this finding is consistent with the notion that gay men are a more stigmatized population than are lesbians. It appears that companies are perceived as diversity-friendly only when they extend support to the more marginalized population of gay men, rather than showing corporate support for lesbian workers.

Company's Use of Fair Procedures

This study confirmed that diversity initiatives are valuable recruiting tools. As hypothesized, I found a strong positive relationship between perceptions that an organization was diversity friendly and attributions of its fair procedures for all employees. Ultimately, it is this belief that diversity-friendly practices reflect a company's generally fair treatment of its workers that leads to views of the company as a desirable employer. While some individuals certainly would view a diverse group of co-workers as desirable in its own right, for most participants in this study the value of recognizing a company's commitment to diversity was mediated by the attribution that diversity-friendly companies use fair management procedures. This suggests that diversity initiatives are valuable recruiting tools not only because they portray the

employer's commitment to providing viable career opportunities for women and minorities, but also because they send the message to all recruits that the company treats employees fairly.

Company Desirability as an Employer

This study challenges social identity theory related predictions about recruits' job choice decisions. Even while acknowledging that a company's employment of gay male and lesbian service providers sends an important signal about the company's commitment to diversity, some potential employees are likely to shun employment opportunities at that organization because they do not share the belief that companies should support gay and lesbian workers. However, in this study, predictions of social identity theory provided limited support for this contention. Participants with strong heterosexist attitudes toward gays rated the company as less desirable than did those without these attitudes only when viewing a gay male personal trainer interacting with a male customer. Similarly, those with strong heterosexist attitudes toward lesbians rated the company as less desirable only when viewing a lesbian insurance agent interacting with a male customer. Religious orientation had no effect on ratings of company desirability, and identification with a traditional gender role only influenced these ratings when a male personal trainer was shown servicing a male and female client. In short, social identity theory-related predictions were largely ineffective in determining which participants would accept or reject the opportunity for employment with an organization that apparently supports gays and lesbians in the workplace.

However, the functional perspective of attitudes fared slightly better in this regard. Consistent with the idea that joining an organization is commonly viewed as an expression of solidarity with the values of that organization, participants whose heterosexist attitudes served an ego-defensive function rated the company as less desirable than did those whose attitudes did not serve this function in four of the eight scenarios presenting a gay or lesbian service provider. Since attitudes that serve an ego-defensive function protect an individual's most closely cherished values, it makes sense that these attitudes would help define individual behavior in this fashion. It would be inconsistent for someone whose heterosexist attitudes served an ego-defensive function to choose to join an organization in which gay men and lesbians are accepted and supported.

The value-expressive function did not fare as well. Only in the scenario wherein a gay personal trainer interacted with a male client did individuals whose heterosexist attitudes served a value-expressive function rate the employing organization as less desirable than did those whose attitudes did not serve this function. Only in this arguably most "extreme" case of interpersonal contact with a gay male did participants believe that their opportunity to express personal values opposing homosexuality were potentially compromised by accepting employment with the organization.

Theoretical Implications

This study proposed a test of social identity theory and the functional perspective of attitudes as explanations of heterosexuals' reactions to gay and lesbian service providers. The findings suggest, first, that the functional perspective of attitudes is a robust predictor of behavioral intentions related to attitudes surrounding individuals' perceptions of themselves as members of various social groups. In short, it is not group

membership per se that prompts behaviors toward out-group members, but the function of attitudes toward those out-group members that sparks behavioral intentions. Second, the findings imply that the evaluation extremity bias thought to be present in intergroup evaluations is not robust when heterosexuals evaluate gays and lesbians. I will address each of these theoretical implications in the remainder of this section.

Functional Perspective of Attitudes

At best, the strength of heterosexuals' ties to social identity in-groups that have traditionally been identified as threatened by gay men and lesbians inconsistently predicted of behavioral intentions to discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation. Historically, research in the social identity theory tradition has suggested that members of in-groups would denigrate members of out-groups in order to (a) maintain a feeling of self-worth about the in-group, and/or (b) to maximize distinctions between the in-group and the out-group. This study suggests that, at least in the case of in-groups and out-groups defined on the basis of sexual orientation, acknowledgement of another person's membership in an out-group is not in and of itself sufficient to prompt discrimination.

Instead, a more robust predictor of out-group denigration is the function that attitudes about out-group members serve in the psychological make-up of heterosexual in-group members. More particularly, discriminatory and/or avoidance behaviors are more likely to be demonstrated if heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gays are defensive, or in other words, if heterosexuals' view lesbians and gays as threatening to their sense of personal identity. As Table 16 demonstrates, this ego-defensive function is highly correlated with heterosexist attitudes, adherence to traditional gender role norms, and identification with a conservative religious belief structure. However, this study

indicates that it is only when heterosexism, gender role identification, and conservative religious orientation are viewed as either strongly challenged, as in the case of the gay male trainer interacting with the male customer, or compounded by the defensive function of the attitudes, that they prompt discriminatory and/or avoiding behavioral intentions.

Future research from the perspective of social identity theory needs to take two additional variables into account. First, researchers need to directly measure the function of attitudes toward out-group members in order to better predict inter-group discriminatory behaviors. Second, researchers should pay particular attention to the degree of perceived threat in the social context of intergroup interaction that might prompt in-group members to discriminate. It appears that the interaction between heterosexuals and lesbians/gays is more subtle and more richly colored by contextual cues than previous research in the social identity theory perspective has suggested.

Evaluation Extremity Bias

Previous research has indicated that in-group members' evaluation of out-group members' performance is subject to biases associated with intergroup prejudicial attitudes and/or the desire to affirm the superiority of the in-group. However, in this study, the evaluation extremity bias was not robust, even in those instances where heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gays would predict either inflated or deflated ratings. As suggested in the literature reviewed in Chapter 1, this is likely a result of the "watchdog" effect, in which people who desire to appear non-prejudiced will carefully monitor their performance ratings to prevent prejudicial attitudes from influencing their decisions. As previously noted, this is consistent with the idea of chronic egalitarian goals, wherein

individuals choose not to act on prejudicial attitudes in order to affirm goals of being fair and impartial that are also central to personal identity. Indeed, this phenomenon likely accounts for the relatively poor predictive utility of involvement in a conservative religion in all aspects of this study. Since ethics of forgiveness and affection for others are often preached in these environments, these ideals likely superseded negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians in the conditions of this study.

Further research on intergroup evaluation needs to take the motivations of evaluators into account. Even individuals whose self-esteem and/or social identity would theoretically benefit from providing an inflated or deflated performance rating may be prevented from doing so because of other, more central goals involving acting in a manner that is fair and impartial. Future research should consider how these chronic egalitarian goals influence, and are influenced by, prejudicial attitudes in a variety of intergroup contexts. This study confirms the importance of combining underlying fairness goals in future studies of intergroup evaluations.

Practical Implications

Practically, this study suggests first that most heterosexual customers will be relatively comfortable with gay men and lesbians as service providers in non-intimate contexts, particularly when the customer and provider are of different genders. Second, results imply that gay and lesbian service providers can benefit their employing organization by choosing to disclose their same-sex orientation to most potential heterosexual recruits. Finally, this study draws attention to heterosexuals' generally more positive attitudes toward lesbians than toward gay men. Again, I will discuss each of these implications in turn in the remainder of this section.

Effect of Providers' Sexual Orientation on Service Relationships

In this study, a small minority of customers reported that they would avoid service relationships with gay and lesbian insurance agents. Only those with particularly strong in-group affiliations that were threatened by contact with homosexuals indicated an intention to avoid service relationships with a gay or lesbian personal trainer, except when a gay male trainer interacted with a male client. This suggests that, when their service is of high quality, gay and lesbian service providers should feel relatively confident when disclosing their sexual orientation to customers, particularly to customers of the opposite gender in non-intimate service contexts.

Effect of Providers' Disclosure on Employing Organizations

In this study, when gay male service providers disclosed their sexual orientation to customers, study participants attributed diversity-friendly management policies to the providers' employing organizations. As previously noted, this attribution was important not primarily for its direct influence on participants' desire to pursue employment with the company, but because diversity-friendly policies were viewed as evidence that the company had generally fair procedures for treatment of all employees. Desire for fair treatment on the job prompted participants to view the employing organization as desirable. This suggests that companies wishing to portray themselves as desirable employers should include evidence of their diversity-friendly management policies to all recruits, not just those whose minority status would make the company's posture vis-à-vis diversity salient. In this study, evidence that a company employed and promoted an openly gay man prompted heterosexual observers to view the company as a desirable employer.

Attitudes Toward Lesbians vs. Gays

Finally, this study suggests that lesbians face significantly less prejudice than do gay men. Not only were participants' heterosexist attitudes toward lesbians lower than those toward gays, but behavioral intentions and company attributions related to lesbian service providers were less dramatic than were those related to gay service providers. This finding has two implications. First, it is important for future researchers investigating intergroup attitudes of heterosexuals to differentiate between lesbians and gays in their study design. The two populations are viewed differently, and it is important to note that findings relative to one group are not necessarily relevant to the other. Second, participants viewing lesbian service providers did not make the attribution that the employing organization was diversity-friendly, likely because of the lesser degree of stigma faced by lesbians. This group is not viewed as a particularly salient minority group for purposes of diversity management policies.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is that the questionnaires were developed using a college student sample. Previous studies have suggested that college students have less prejudice toward gay men and lesbians relative to other populations (Van de Ven, 1994), so these findings may actually represent a more liberal or tolerant viewpoint than that expressed by service consumers who are of different ages, educational backgrounds, and socio-economic statuses. However, particularly since traditional college students are not experienced consumers of many personal services due to their age and lack of wage earning history, investigations of service relationships between gays/lesbians and heterosexuals need to involve an older audience with more experience in the service

economy. On the other hand, study participants are highly desirable targets of contemporary advertising and marketing, and represent precisely the types of recruits sought by companies.

Similarly, the vignette methodology used in this laboratory study is inherently artificial. Participants' reactions and reported behavioral intentions did not reflect the context of actual service relationships, nor did their responses have real implications for their future experiences. Research involving actual consumer decisions made in the context of real service relationships would be a desirable test of these findings.

Finally, as in Study 1, some independent variables were again highly correlated. In particular, the ego-defensive and value-expressive attitude function measures were positively and significantly correlated at $r = .67$; $p < .001$, and heterosexism toward lesbians and toward gays was also positively and significantly correlated at $r = .79$; $p < .001$. Similarly, the ego-defensive function measure and heterosexism toward gays were significantly positively correlated, $r = .78$; $p < .001$. This multicollinearity questions the independence of each of these variables; indeed, the correlations are quite near the $r = .80$ threshold that would demand their removal or combination for the study. As previously noted, the intercorrelation of these variables should make it more, rather than less, difficult to obtain significant results in an ANOVA, indicating that the results presented here are actually a conservative estimate of the effect of these variables. However, since a high positive correlation between the attitude functions has been noted in previous research (e.g., Herek, 1994; Kite, 1984), future studies should attempt more precise measurement of these variables and attempt to explain their relationship to one another in more detail.

Future Research

These findings suggest that future research should focus primarily on the effect of a service provider's same-sex orientation on consumers' decisions vis-à-vis real service relationships. This study's results concerning the evaluation extremity bias were admittedly weak, suggesting that this context may not be the best in which to determine the effect of sexual orientation differences between in-group and out-group members on performance rating perceptions. On the other hand, these results provide strong evidence of the role of service providers' membership in a stigmatized group on recruits' perceptions of the company as a desirable employer, on the basis of the company's commitment to fair workplace procedures for all personnel. However, results reflecting consumers' attitudes were mixed, suggesting the need for future work on this dependent variable in particular.

As noted in the Limitations section, future work should also focus on a population of working adults with significant experience in service relationships. Investigations should also center on relational contexts that have actually been experienced by participants so that they may evaluate the relative importance of sexual orientation of the service provider as it would affect an existing service relationship. Additionally, in order to extend the theoretical understanding of attitude function as it relates to heterosexual in-group members' interaction with gay/lesbian out-group members, both attitude function and social in-groups should continue to be tested as predictors of discriminatory behavioral intentions. Finally, gay male and lesbian service providers must be considered independently of one another to further understanding of the differences between the two groups.

Additionally, future work should expand the investigation of social context of service relationships begun in this study. These results demonstrate that intimacy of the service context is relevant to heterosexual consumers, particularly as it relates to interactions with providers who share the customers' genders. Future investigations should look to expand the number and nature of service contexts to better understand the role of this variable in service relationships between providers and customers of different sexual orientations.

Study 3, presented in the following section, was an electronic survey of an adult population that sought to meet these criteria for future research. It replicated investigations of heterosexuals' reported behavioral intentions to continue and pursue service relationships with gay and lesbian service providers in a wider variety of service contexts. Additionally, it provided additional tests of social identity theory and the functional perspective of attitudes as they related to heterosexuals' interactions with gay and lesbian service providers.

SECTION 4

STUDY 3

CHAPTER 11

BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT FOR STUDY 3

Previous research has noted that college students' attitudes toward homosexuality typically mirror those of the older adult population (Herek, 1994; Kite & Whitley, 1998). However, it is logical to assume that older individuals have had more experience in service relationships than younger ones who have not yet obtained the maturity and/or financial resources to engage a variety of personal service providers. Consequently, Study 3 replicated findings relative to heterosexuals' intentions to engage gay and lesbian service providers in an older, adult population.

Hypotheses

My intention in this investigation is to determine if adults, who have had more service relationships, respond to the prospect of a gay or lesbian service provider in the same manner as do college students.

Specifically, Hypotheses 2b through 2g, 4, and 5 will be retested with this population. I will discuss each in turn below. Generally, however, since previous studies (Herek, 1994; Kite & Whitley, 1998) have found that adults' and college students' heterosexist attitudes are remarkably similar, I hypothesize that results will be generally similar to those in the previous sections.

Service Relationships

While a significant amount of research has explored the role of general satisfaction with service as a key determinant in customers' decisions to continue service relationships (i.e., Bolton, 1998; Rust & Zahorik, 1993; Rust, Zahorik & Keningham, 1995; Zeithaml et al., 1996), fewer researchers have investigated the role of anticipated changes in future interaction in customers' decision-making (Lemon, White & Winer, 2002). Several research streams suggest that future considerations should affect customer decision making in this regard. Mental simulation has been described by Taylor and Schneider (1989, p. 175) as "the cognitive construction of hypothetical scenarios or the reconstruction of real scenarios." These authors note that mental simulation serves many functions; such simulation can serve a planning function, help set expectations, and potentially drive future behaviors. Kahneman and Miller (1986) suggest that mental simulation may also serve a "norm-setting" function, making expectations explicit such that the norms or expectations imagined in the simulation may be accessed when making future decisions.

In the context of the current studies, individuals who are asked to reflect on the continuance of service relationships will likely use mental simulations to determine the likelihood that they would remain in a service relationship should an existing norm of that relationship—in this instance, the service provider's sexual orientation—be modified. It is likely that participants' attitudes toward lesbians and gays, and the function of those attitudes, will form a part of the mental simulation they use to determine if they will continue to interact with a service provider in the face of this change.

Similarly, research in marketing supports the investigation of variables other than service quality in studies of the continuation of service relationships. Situational variables likely influence customer's decisions to keep or drop a service relationship in a manner that is conceptually distinct from customer assessments of their level of satisfaction with service quality (Belk, 1974). Simply put, customers are likely to make service-related decisions that minimize negative future outcomes, absent consideration of existing outcomes (Gremler & Gwinner, 2000; Lemon et al., 2002). To the extent that interacting with a gay male or lesbian is viewed as an undesirable outcome, customers are likely to terminate their service relationships with a gay or lesbian provider even when service quality is perceived to be high.

Gender Differences

As noted in Chapter 7, and supported in Study 2, two gender differences are salient in discussions of heterosexism. First, heterosexuals tend to view lesbians more positively than they view gay men. Second, heterosexual men have stronger heterosexist attitudes than do heterosexual women. Each of these is anticipated to be replicated in the current study, as noted below.

Lesbians vs. Gay Men

Largely because gay males are viewed as more serious violators of traditional gender role norms, individuals with strong heterosexist attitudes tend to report more prejudice toward gay men than they do toward lesbians (Kimmel, 1997). Fernald (1995) found that, when heterosexual adults interacted with gay men, they demonstrated more physical distancing behavior and other non-verbal signals of discomfort than were seen

when they interacted with lesbians. I anticipate that, as in Study 2, participants in Study 3 will report significantly more tolerance for lesbians than they will for gay men.

Heterosexual Men vs. Heterosexual Women

Men are known to demonstrate more sexist attitudes generally than are women (Thompson, 1995), and studies of attitudes toward gay men and lesbians are consistent with this trend. This attitude translates to differences in interpersonal behavior: in Fernald's (1995) study, heterosexual women demonstrated significantly more nonverbal signals of comfort in interaction with both gay men and lesbians than did heterosexual men. Kimmel (1997) noted similar findings, contending that heterosexual men demonstrated significantly more discomfort with and prejudice toward homosexuality generally than did heterosexual women. Consequently, in this study I anticipate that adult heterosexual men will report more heterosexist attitudes than will adult heterosexual women.

Chapter 12

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY USED IN STUDY 3

Participants

Participants in the study were staff employees of The Ohio State University's (OSU) main and branch campuses. A total of 1,019 individual electronic mail solicitation messages were sent to staff members who were listed as subscribers to OSU Today, an online newsletter for faculty and staff at OSU. Everyone who participated in the study was entered in a raffle to win one of five \$25 gift certificates from a major national bookstore. Follow-up messages were sent three weeks after the initial contact to individuals who had not yet participated in the survey.

Fifty-one electronic mail solicitation messages were returned as undeliverable. Of the remaining 968 participants solicited, 308 completed surveys online, for a response rate of 31.8%. However, fourteen of these respondents (4.5%) indicated that they were gay, lesbian, or bisexual, and thus were removed from subsequent analyses. Of the 294 remaining participants, 84.5% were female, 92.5% White/Caucasian, and 82.8% worked full-time at an OSU campus. The remainder were part-time staff employees of OSU.

Procedure

This study used an Internet-based survey instrument to gather data about service relationships and service preferences. Upon accessing the web site containing the survey,

participants were presented with preliminary information about the study and then given a description of a service relationship (Gutek, 1995) that differentiated it from a service encounter. Then, participants were asked to report if they had current service relationships in each of the following contexts: insurance agent, attorney, auto mechanic, hair stylist/barber, dentist, personal physical fitness trainer, physical therapist, and physician. After reporting on their experiences in these relationships, participants then completed dependent measures. These eight contexts were chosen because they represent the most common service relationships in the United States (Gutek, 1995). Participants were then asked to complete independent measures and provide demographic data. Once the survey was completed, participants were automatically sent to a separate web site where they were debriefed as to the purpose of the survey. They were then asked to provide their e-mail address for entry into the gift certificate raffle.

Measures

Service Relationship Information

Demographic characteristics of each provider for whom a service relationship was reported were collected first. Participants were asked to provide the gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and age of the providers they engaged in 8 different service contexts: physical therapist and physician (coded as “highly intimate”), hair stylist/barber, dentist, and personal physical fitness trainer (coded as “moderately intimate”), and insurance agent, attorney, and auto mechanic (coded as “non-intimate”).

Dependent Variables

After providing demographic data for each of their providers, participants were asked to report in more detail on two of the service relationships. For each of these

relationships, participants were asked to report how long they had a relationship and how satisfied they were with it. Then, they were asked to assess the likelihood that they would seek a service provider who had a number of personal traits; gay male and lesbian were included on this list as measures of participants' intention to approach gay and lesbian service providers. Responses to each question were given on a 1 (highly unlikely) to 7 (highly likely) Likert-type scale.

Independent Variables

After completing this measure, participants completed modified versions of the scales presented in Study Two; all answered using a 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree) Likert-type scale.

Gender Role Identification

The Traditional Family Ideology scale used in Studies 1 and 2 was shortened by selecting the five items that had the highest contribution to the scale's internal validity in Study 2, resulting in a range of scores from 7 (low traditional gender role orientation) to 49 (high traditional gender role orientation).

Heterosexism

The Heterosexism toward Gays and Heterosexism toward Lesbians scales described in Study 2 were presented in their entirety.

Attitude Functions

The Attitude Function Inventory was also modified to delete two items measuring the defensive function that were judged largely redundant based on results from Study 2. The experiential-schematic and value-expressive functions were again assessed with three questions each.

Demographics

Participants self-reported their gender and other demographic characteristics, including sexual orientation and religious affiliation. Sexual orientation was treated as a control variable: all who reported a same-sex orientation were removed from subsequent analyses. Religious affiliation was coded using the schema in Table 1.

CHAPTER 13

RESULTS OF STUDY 3

Means, standard deviations, scale reliabilities, and correlations for all variables are shown in Table 57. Participants were split into four quadrants (representing low, medium-low, medium-high, and high scores) based on their scores on Heterosexism Toward Gays, Heterosexism Toward Lesbians, Gender Role Identification, Ego-Defensive Attitude Function, and Value-Expressive Attitude Function. Conservative Religious Orientation responses were scored as indicated in Table 1.

Hypothesis 2b predicted that heterosexism toward each of gays and lesbians would negatively affect participants' reported intentions to engage a gay or lesbian service provider. An ANOVA investigating the effect of heterosexism toward gays on reported behavioral intentions to seek a gay service provider revealed a significant interaction term, $F(3, 271) = 6.53$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .068$. Bonferroni post hoc tests (with $\alpha = .05$) found two significant difference in scores on the basis of heterosexism toward gays. However, differences were in the opposite direction from that hypothesized: participants in the high ($M = 5.26$, $S.D. = 1.29$, $n = 71$) and medium-high ($M = 4.80$, $S.D. = 1.17$, $n = 75$) conditions reported significantly higher intentions to engage a gay service provider than did those in the lowest heterosexism group ($M = 4.39$, $S.D. = 1.10$, $n = 67$; $p < .001$ and $p = .029$, respectively). No significant differences were noted between

Variable	M	S.D.	α	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1-Gender	1.84	.36		-----							
2-Heterosexism Toward Gays	43.47	14.71	.85	-.19**	-----						
3-Heterosexism Toward Lesbians	35.34	12.97	.84	-.06	.90***	-----					
4-Gender Role Identification	13.69	5.56	.62	-.05	.65***	.64***	-----				
5-Religious Orientation 2.90	1.51			.06	.19**	.29***	.29**	-----			
6-Ego-Defensive Function	2.46	1.75		-.01	.48***	.51***	.25***	.02	-----		
7-Value-Expressive Function	9.74	4.53	.60	-.11	.68***	.70***	.50***	.35***	.48***	-----	
8-Alternative Provider Gay	4.76	1.25		.11	.25***	.22***	.17**	.06	.15*	.14*	-----
9-Alternative Provider Lesbian	4.24	1.46		.04	-.34***	-.29***	-.30***	-.17**	-.32***	-.33***	.27***

Table 57: Study 3: Means, Standard Deviations, Scale Reliabilities, and Intercorrelation of Variables

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

these groups and the medium-low heterosexism group ($M = 4.66$; $S.D. = 1.17$; $n = 58$).

This hypothesis was not supported.

To determine the effect of heterosexism toward lesbians on behavioral intentions to approach a lesbian service provider, I again performed an ANOVA. Results were significant, $F(3, 275) = 10.03$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .100$. Post hoc tests found that participants with the highest heterosexism scores ($M = 3.60$, $S.D. = 1.75$, $n = 73$) were significantly less likely to engage a lesbian service provider than were those in the low ($M = 4.82$, $S.D. = 1.26$; $n = 67$, $p < .001$), medium-low ($M = 4.42$, $S.D. = 0.98$, $n = 79$; $p = .001$) and medium-high ($M = 4.24$, $S.D. = 1.30$; $n = 56$, $p = .049$) score quartiles. This hypothesis was supported.

Hypothesis 2c predicted that participants with a strong conservative religious orientation would report lower behavioral intentions to engage the services of a gay service provider than would participants without this religious orientation. An ANOVA investigating the effect of religious orientation on behavioral intentions to engage a gay service provider showed an insignificant result, $F(5, 288) = 1.14$; $p = .339$; $\eta^2 = .020$. However, results from an ANOVA investigating the effect of religious orientation on behavioral intentions to engage a lesbian service provider were significant, $F(5, 277) = 6.42$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .104$. Post hoc tests indicated that individuals in the second highest religious orientation group ($M = 3.06$, $S.D. = 1.25$, $n = 35$) had significantly lower behavioral intentions than did those in the lowest ($M = 4.56$, $S.D. = 1.49$, $n = 58$, $p < .001$), second lowest ($M = 4.39$, $S.D. = 1.44$, $n = 75$, $p < .001$), third lowest ($M = 4.10$, $S.D. = 1.25$, $n = 41$, $p = .018$), third highest ($M = 4.36$, $S.D. = 1.25$, $n = 35$, $p < .001$), and

highest ($M = 4.67$, $S.D. = 1.50$, $n = 15$, $p = .003$). No other between-group differences were statistically significant.

Hypothesis 2d predicted that participants with a strong gender role orientation would report lower behavioral intentions to engage a gay service provider than would participants with weaker gender role orientation. I conducted an ANOVA to test the effect of gender role orientation on behavioral intentions to engage a gay male service provider; results were significant, $F(3, 285) = 2.83$; $p = .039$; $\eta^2 = .029$. However, post hoc tests did not reveal significant differences between experimental groups.

To determine the effect of gender role orientation on behavioral intentions to engage a lesbian service provider, I again conducted an ANOVA. Results were significant, $F(3, 281) = 6.23$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .063$. Post hoc tests indicated that participants with the highest gender role orientation scores ($M = 3.64$, $S.D. = 1.60$, $n = 74$) reported significantly lower behavioral intentions to engage a lesbian service provider than did those in either the low ($M = 4.48$, $S.D. = 1.32$, $n = 54$, $p = .006$) or medium-low ($M = 4.56$, $S.D. = 1.17$, $n = 76$, $p = .001$) score groups. The medium-high score group ($M = 4.23$, $S.D. = 1.49$, $n = 74$) did not differ significantly from any other group.

Hypothesis 2e predicted that the function of participants' attitudes toward homosexuals would moderate their reported intentions to engage a gay or lesbian service provider. An ANOVA investigating the effect of the value-expressive attitude function on intentions to pursue a gay male service provider had a significant result, $F(3, 284) = 3.77$; $p = .011$; $\eta^2 = .039$. Post hoc tests indicated that the only significant difference between groups was in the opposite direction than hypothesized: those in the medium-high score group for value-expressive attitudes ($M = 4.66$, $S.D. = 1.60$, $n = 77$) reported

significantly higher behavioral intentions to engage a gay service provider than did those in the medium-low score group ($\underline{M} = 4.47$, $S.D. = 0.97$, $\underline{n} = 74$, $p = .008$). No other significant between-group differences were noted.

A second ANOVA was performed to determine the effect of value-expressive attitude function on intentions to engage a lesbian service provider. Results were again significant, $F(3, 281) = 9.37$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .092$. Post hoc tests indicated that participants with the highest value-expressive scores ($\underline{M} = 3.75$, $S.D. = 1.66$, $\underline{n} = 75$) indicated significantly lower behavioral intentions to engage a lesbian service provider than did those in the low ($\underline{M} = 5.02$, $S.D. = 1.33$, $\underline{n} = 47$, $p < .001$) and medium-low ($\underline{M} = 4.43$, $S.D. = 0.94$, $\underline{n} = 73$, $p = .018$) score groups. The medium-high score group ($\underline{M} = 4.00$, $S.D. = 1.48$, $\underline{n} = 86$) did not differ significantly from any other groups.

Similarly, I performed an ANOVA to investigate the effect of the ego-defensive attitude function on behavioral intentions to engage a gay service provider. Results were significant, $F(3, 290) = 3.80$; $p = .011$; $\eta^2 = .038$, but post hoc tests indicated findings in the opposite direction from that hypothesized. Participants in the medium-high score group for the ego-defensive attitude functions ($\underline{M} = 5.17$, $S.D. = 1.51$, $\underline{n} = 53$) indicated higher likelihood of engaging a gay service provider than did those in the low ($\underline{M} = 4.60$, $S.D. = 1.15$, $\underline{n} = 135$, $p = .024$) and medium-low ($\underline{M} = 4.56$, $S.D. = 0.99$, $\underline{n} = 67$, $p = .046$) score groups. Participants reporting high scores on the ego-defensive function ($\underline{M} = 5.00$, $S.D. = 1.38$, $\underline{n} = 35$) did not significantly differ from the other groups.

I conducted a second ANOVA to investigate the effect of the ego-defensive attitude function on behavioral intentions to engage a lesbian service provider. Results were significant, $F(3, 285) = 9.02$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .088$. Post hoc tests indicated that

individuals with the highest ego-defensive scores ($M = 3.21$, $S.D. = 1.74$, $n = 35$) reported less desire to engage a lesbian service provider than did those in the low ($M = 4.52$, $S.D. = 1.34$, $n = 134$, $p < .001$) and medium-low ($M = 4.34$, $S.D. = 0.94$, $n = 67$, $p = .001$) score groups. Participants with medium-high ego-defensive attitude function scores ($M = 3.94$, $S.D. = 1.71$, $n = 49$) did not significantly differ from the other groups.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that heterosexism toward lesbians would be lower than heterosexism toward gay men. A t-test comparing mean scores on each variable (as reported in Table 57) indicated that heterosexism toward gays was significantly higher than heterosexism toward lesbians, $t(265) = -21.70$; $p < .001$. This hypothesis was supported.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that participants would report higher behavioral intentions to establish service relationships with gay and lesbian providers who did not share the participants' gender. An ANOVA investigating the effect of participant gender on behavioral intentions to engage a gay service provider did not have a significant result, $F(1, 287) = 3.16$; $p = .076$; $\eta^2 = .011$. Similarly, an ANOVA testing the effect of participant gender on behavioral intentions to engage a lesbian service provider did not produce a significant result, $F(1, 287) = 0.42$, $p = .517$, $\eta^2 = .001$. This hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 6 predicted that participants would report higher behavioral intentions to establish service relationships with gay and lesbian service providers in non-intimate service contexts, and lower behavioral intentions to establish service relationships with gay and lesbian service providers in intimate contexts. An ANOVA investigating the effect of intimacy of context on behavioral intentions to engage a gay service provider

had an insignificant result, $F(2, 286) = 0.17, p = .984, \eta^2 > .000$. However, an ANOVA investigating the effect of context intimacy on behavioral intentions to engage a lesbian service provider was significant, $F(2, 281) = 9.93, p < .001, \eta^2 = .067$. However, post hoc tests indicated that inter-group differences were in the opposite direction from that hypothesized. Participants were significantly more likely to report that they would engage a lesbian service provider in the highly intimate ($M = 4.23, S.D. = 1.32, n = 73, p = .046$) and moderately intimate ($M = 4.57, S.D. = 1.46, n = 135, p < .001$) conditions than they were in the non-intimate condition ($M = 3.65, S.D. = 1.46, n = 73$).

CHAPTER 14

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS OF STUDY 3

In this study, heterosexist attitudes toward gay men did not influence participants' reported behavioral intentions to engage a gay male to replace an existing service provider. Heterosexist attitudes toward lesbians, however, did predict participants' inclinations toward working with a lesbian service provider, but only when those attitudes were particularly strong. Similarly, while participants with a moderately strong conservative religious orientation reported no hesitation to consider a gay male as an alternative to an existing service provider, they balked at the thought of engaging a lesbian in this context. This pattern of results was also found when participants' traditional gender role identification was considered.

The functions of participants' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians also predicted participants' intentions to engage lesbian service providers, but had no effect on their reaction to gay men in this role. In fact, participants who reported the highest scores on both the ego-defensive and value-expressive attitude functions were significantly more likely than those with lower scores on these variables to report that they would be willing to engage a gay male as an alternative to an existing service provider. However, when considering lesbian service providers, attitude functions predicted behavioral intentions in the hypothesized directions: people high in both value-expressive and defensive attitude

function scores were significantly less likely to report that they would engage a lesbian service provider than were those with lower scores on these constructs.

Finally, while participants did report significantly more heterosexism toward gay men than toward lesbians, participant gender had no effect on willingness to engage a gay or lesbian service provider. Intimacy of the service context also failed to predict participants' willingness to engage gay or lesbian service providers—in fact, participants were most willing to employ a lesbian service provider in highly intimate service contexts.

The skewness of the sample population's gender explains the counter-intuitive finding that discrimination toward lesbians would be higher than that toward gay men. As previously noted, people tend to express more prejudice toward homosexuals of their own gender. Since the vast majority of respondents in this study were female, participants' heightened awareness of lesbian service providers should be viewed as a reasonable result. Although the literature suggests that women are more tolerant than men of gays and lesbians generally, research also indicates that heterosexual men and women are more cautious when contemplating interactions with gays and lesbians who share their gender. Consequently, we should expect that the salience of heterosexuals' identification with in-groups and functions of prejudicial attitudes will be heightened when they expect to work with a gay man or lesbian woman who shares their gender.

When viewed through this lens, the results of Study 3 confirm that members of a heterosexual adult population hold very similar attitudes toward and behavioral intentions concerning service relationships with gay men and lesbians as did the college student populations engaged for Studies 1 and 2. It does not appear that experience in service

relationships has a significant effect on consumers' willingness to engage service providers of a different sexual orientation than their own. However, Study 3 confirms the importance of considering participant gender in investigations of intergroup exchanges between heterosexuals and lesbians/gays, and further supports the contention that gay men and lesbians are distinct populations that should be analyzed as separate entities.

The strength of this study is that adults reported their intentions to interact with gay men and lesbians in currently existing service relationship contexts. These findings indicate that, adults' (particularly females') behavioral intentions toward each of gay men and lesbians are well predicted by internal heterosexism. This suggests that consideration of the functions that prejudicial attitudes serve—to protect both personal and group identity—is an important contribution to the literature on heterosexuals' attitudes and behavior toward homosexuals.

Limitations

The preponderance of women in this participant population does limit the study findings' generalizability. Because gender differences in attitudes toward homosexuals are well documented, it will be necessary to administer the scales to additional males to determine gender differences in response patterns. However, it should be noted that consumer activities such as shopping have traditionally been associated with female roles (Kelly, 1991), and previous research has demonstrated that women take their role as consumers more seriously than do men (Fischer & Arnold, 1990) and have more expertise in the evaluation of their experiences as consumers (Nava, 1996).

Consequently, while their views of gay male and lesbian service providers may be more tolerant than men's views, the preponderance of women in this investigation suggests that

participants' evaluations of their service relationships, and their considerations of engaging in alternate service relationships, were likely accurate.

Similarly, although these participants are not students actively enrolled in college courses, it may be necessary to question the extent to which these findings generalize to an adult population that is not affiliated with a university. Although the question has not been formally addressed, it may be the case that individuals who choose to be employed by a university possess similar attitudes and values to the student population used in the previous two studies. Future work needs to examine the utility of the Heterosexism toward Gays and Heterosexism toward Lesbians scales with a more varied population in order to conduct a more exhaustive investigation of their properties.

Similarly, there are advantages and disadvantages to having respondents complete the survey online. Although the opportunity to take the survey at a time and place chosen to ensure one's privacy may enhance the tendency toward honest responses, it is impossible to ensure that all participants completed the questionnaire under these circumstances. Similarly, it is unclear whether people who are comfortable responding to online surveys differ from the general population to any large degree. Consequently, it will be important for future studies to directly compare online and paper-and-pencil administrations of the scales to determine if there are differences related to the mode in which responses are gathered.

Finally, the recurring multicollinearity issue must be addressed again here. Heterosexism toward lesbians and toward gays was positively and significantly correlated at $r = .90$; $p < .001$. This suggests that these variables should be combined and/or eliminated from the study, since their shared variance is extremely high. I elected to

maintain both variables because of the nature of this investigation and the importance of comparing heterosexuals' reactions to lesbians to their reactions to gays. However, recognizing that the scales used to measure these two attitudes were quite similar, future research should focus on developing a more cohesive understanding of the similarities and differences of prejudicial attitudes toward these two groups.

Implications

Theoretically, this study confirms a series of theoretical propositions with a different population—working adults—and a different data gathering methodology—online surveys with reports of existing service relationships. As such, its confirmation of both social identity theory and functional perspective of attitudes predictions is particularly noteworthy. Social identity theory predicts that individuals whose identities are particularly aligned with conservative religious groups and/or traditional gender role identities will eschew service relationships with gay men and lesbians who potentially threaten these identities. In this study, both predictions were supported when participants with these identity characteristics reported less likelihood of engaging a lesbian service provider than did other participants who did not share these identities.

Similarly, participants whose heterosexist attitudes served the function of expressing core values and/or protecting their identities from potential threat reported significantly less inclination toward service relationships with lesbian service providers. Since a large majority of respondents were female, this can be interpreted as support for the functional perspective of attitudes under the most potentially threatening conditions. Research indicates that women are, in general, more comfortable with gay men than with lesbians. Indeed, in this study, even individuals whose heterosexist attitudes toward gays

served a value-expressive or ego-defensive function reported willingness to engage a gay male service provider. However, as noted in Chapter 7, interactions with a gay or lesbian person that shares one's gender are perceived a more threatening than are interactions with homosexuals of the opposite gender. The functional perspective of attitudes suggests that heterosexist attitudes that serve ego-defensive and/or value-expressive functions are most likely to be acted upon when they are actively challenged or threatened. This study supports this theoretical claim.

Practically, perhaps the most noteworthy finding in this study is that the actual effect of a service provider's sexual orientation appears to be relatively small. Participants' mean scores on intentions to approach gay (4.54) and lesbian (4.27) service providers were above the scale midpoint, indicating a general trend toward acceptance of openly gay or lesbian partners in service relationships. Anecdotally, some of the comments that participants provided voluntarily reflected this. One participant remarked, "It really doesn't matter to me what demographic groups my service providers come from—I just want them to provide good service, and I'll go where I need to go to get it." Practically, then, it appears that people value service quality more than any discomfort they may feel about interacting with a gay or lesbian person. This is good news to gay men and lesbians in the service industry, for it suggests that good performance will allow them to overcome stigma associated with their sexual orientation in the eyes of potential customers.

Moreover, results from Study 3 suggest that intimacy of the service context is not a particularly relevant component of heterosexuals' decision-making when they are confronted with the prospect of a gay or lesbian service provider. It appears that

individuals' attitudes, social group identifications, and attitude functions are not particularly exacerbated by the level of intimacy they expect in interactions with gay men and lesbians. This suggests that gay men and lesbians in intimate service contexts, such as physicians and massage therapists, should fare no differently than those in non-intimate contexts, such as insurance agents and auto mechanics, when interacting with heterosexual customers.

SECTION 5
DISCUSSION

CHAPTER 15
THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE PRESENT
RESEARCH

This series of studies provides theoretical and practical insights into the relationships between sexual orientation and the evaluation of service providers. Practically, these studies inform both corporations and individuals respectively about diversity management and managing one's gay or lesbian identity in the workplace. Theoretically, these studies demonstrate that the intersection of the functional perspective on attitudes and social identity theory explains heterosexist attitudes and behaviors.

The purpose of this chapter is, first, to review the results of these studies holistically, and second, to explore the program's theoretical and practical implications in more detail.

Summary of Results

These studies examined five broad research questions. First, what is the effect of a performer's same-sex orientation on heterosexual observers' perceptions of task performance? Second, what is the effect of a service provider's same-sex orientation on heterosexuals' desire to engage that provider in a service relationship? Third, what effect does a service provider's same-sex orientation have on customers' perceptions of the organization employing that provider? Fourth, do heterosexuals' attitudes toward

lesbians and gay men differ? And finally, what is the effect of service context on heterosexuals' desire to engage a gay or lesbian service provider? Each of these questions is discussed in turn below.

Perceptions of Task Performance

These studies, the first to be conducted examining the effect of a target's sexual orientation on perceptions of his/her task performance, clearly indicate that sexual orientation is an important variable to consider in future research. In Study One, it did not matter whether raters learned of a gay male's same-sex orientation from self-disclosure or a third party: in both cases, this knowledge resulted in inflated performance ratings (consistent with the evaluation extremity bias). Study 2 confirmed this effect, but also found limitations upon it. Only when a gay male was portrayed interacting with a female customer were performance perceptions enhanced. No other conditions replicated or extended this finding.

Even participants with high heterosexist attitudes toward gays and lesbians were susceptible to this evaluation extremity bias. This suggests that perceptions of a gay male's performance are tempered by the stigma associated with being gay, such that a professional, high-performing gay male is seen as more competent than an identically-performing heterosexual male because the former has to overcome the added burden of his social stigma. Research investigating the evaluation extremity bias suggests that this reaction is partially motivated by surprise that a person thought to be stigmatized can perform at a high level. This finding may have been exacerbated by the design of the first two studies. In each, the actor portraying the gay service provider did not demonstrate stereotypical nonverbal communication patterns associated with a gay male.

Consequently, his revelation of a same-sex orientation was likely viewed as somewhat surprising, an event that may have made his sexual orientation more salient than it would have been had viewers known him to be gay prior to viewing the encounter.

Nevertheless, this study does confirm the presence of evaluative bias when heterosexuals observe a gay male interacting with a female in a service relationship.

Heterosexist attitudes toward gays did not affect this tendency toward inflated performance evaluations. Although social identity theory suggests that heterosexuals whose attitudes derogate gays would provide lower overall evaluations of performance in an attempt to enhance the esteem of the heterosexual in-group by maximizing differences between it and the gay out-group, the first two studies did not strongly confirm this hypothesis. Only in the potentially most psychologically threatening condition—a gay personal trainer interacting with a male client—did heterosexist attitudes correspond with lower performance ratings. Moreover, heterosexist attitudes toward lesbians also had no effect on evaluations of lesbians in the second study. As noted in Study 1, this is likely the result of the activation of chronic egalitarian goals that many people embrace in order to avoid acting in a prejudicial manner. People whose attitudes toward gays and lesbians are negatively prejudiced are likely aware that these attitudes may affect their judgment of gay male or lesbian performers. To compensate for their inherent tendency to discriminate in accordance with their heterosexist attitudes, these heterosexuals consciously inflate their performance ratings in a compensatory fashion, as explained by the evaluation extremity bias. Only in a situation where a gay male is perceived as a threat—such as when he is shown with a heterosexual male in a situation involving

interpersonal touch—would heterosexist attitudes exert a stronger pull on evaluative behaviors that do chronic egalitarian goals.

Social identity theory prompted the prediction that raters whose traditional gender role was central to their identities would also view task performance of a gay or lesbian service provider negatively as “punishment” for the violation of expected gender norms. This premise found mixed support. In Study 1, participants with a high gender role identification provided lower performance ratings than did those without this identification only when the gay male insurance agent self-disclosed his sexual orientation; this finding did not hold true in the third-party disclosure condition. In Study 2, participants with a strong gender role orientation provided more negative evaluations than did those without this identification only when viewing a lesbian personal trainer interacting with either a male or a female client. While the failure to replicate this finding for a gay male insurance agent and female client in Study 2 is puzzling, deflated performance ratings for a lesbian service provider have a more clear explanation. To the extent that individuals with strong adherence to traditional gender roles would denigrate others who do not adhere to those roles, a lesbian working in the non-feminine context of a physical fitness expert is something of a “double whammy.” In addition to feminine role violations associated with a same-sex orientation, this performer is also enacting a task traditionally viewed as masculine. It makes sense that participants who feel personally wedded to a traditional gender orientation would evaluate her negatively.

Allegiance to a conservative religious group that views homosexuality as a sin was not a robust predictor of differences in performance ratings. Across both studies, only one condition prompted individuals with a conservative religious orientation to

make lower evaluations than did those without this orientation: the interaction of a gay male service provider and a male customer in Study 2. As previously noted, this is the most psychologically threatening of all scenarios presented. It was only in this context that study participants were prompted to affirm their religious beliefs through deflated performance ratings. In all other conditions, religious affiliation was a non-issue.

In general, these results support prior research finding that raters will provide high performance evaluations of members of stigmatized groups unless they perceive that the rater will incur a cost as a result of the evaluation. If the concept of “cost” is expanded to include psychic discomfort, then it is not surprising that people whose attitudes toward gay males function as in-group identification respond negatively when the situation is particularly egregious to their perspective. In these circumstances, social identity theory suggests that providing a positive evaluation of a gay male’s or lesbian’s performance is just “too costly,” a finding consistent with current research cited in Chapter 1.

Support for the functional perspective of attitudes was limited in this area. People whose heterosexist attitudes served an ego-defensive function provided lower performance ratings than those whose attitudes did not serve this function in only one, potentially highly threatening condition: that of a lesbian personal trainer working with a female customer. The value-expressive function had no effect on participants’ performance ratings. In terms of performance perceptions, it appears that social identity theory provides more robust predictions than does the functional perspective of attitudes.

Engagement of Service Provider

Studies 1 and 2 confirmed generally that participants desired relationships with service providers who provided good service. However, in Studies 2 and 3, prejudicial

attitudes toward both gays and lesbians were relatively strong indicators of individuals who, despite acknowledging the good performance of a gay or lesbian service provider, would choose not to engage him/her in a service relationship. In general, these findings suggest that people who report heterosexist attitudes are likely to act on those attitudes by avoiding service relationships with lesbians and gays. In Studies 2 and 3, the attitude-behavior link between heterosexist attitudes and discriminatory behavior toward gays and lesbians was strongly indicated.

However, these results did not confirm strongly the notion that customers in service relationships are equally as motivated by service quality and interpersonal context to continue service relationships. In fact, results from Study 3 suggest that service quality is the strongest determinant of customer satisfaction with, and intention to continue, service relationships. This finding questions the trend in marketing research to explore elements other than customers' perceptions of service quality when investigating customers' decisions to continue service relationships.

Interestingly, individuals with a conservative religious orientation and/or traditional gender role identification were more likely to avoid relationships with lesbians than they were with gay males. Study 3 showed support for both of these variables in service relationships with lesbians, although neither variable had an effect on reported intentions to engage gay males. In Study 2, the lesbian insurance agent was rejected as a potential exchange partner by participants with high scores on both variables. Participants with high gender role identification rejected the gay personal trainer when he interacted with both a male and a female customer. Social identity theory's predictions

were reasonably successful in determining which heterosexuals would seek to avoid service relationships with lesbians and gays.

However, the functional perspective of attitudes received more robust empirical support. In Study 2, participants whose heterosexist attitudes served an ego-defensive function rejected the gay and lesbian service providers in six of the eight conditions in which the service provider disclosed a same-sex orientation. Similarly, those whose heterosexist attitudes toward lesbians served an ego-defensive function rejected relationships with lesbian service providers in Study 3. Heterosexist attitudes that functioned as an expression of personal values predicted participants' rejection of the lesbian insurance agent interacting with a female customer and the gay personal trainer interacting with a male customer in Study 2, and predicted rejection of lesbian service providers generally in Study 3. It appears that attitudes that serve an ego-defensive function are most likely to be acted upon when heterosexuals perceive that they will have to interact with gays and lesbians. It makes sense that anticipated interaction would make these individuals more defensive because the potential threat to their heterosexual identity would be more salient in one-on-one exchanges. Consequently, the prospect of entering a service relationship with a gay male or a lesbian would prompt defensive psychological maneuvers that were not necessitated by the mere act of evaluating task performance of a service provider with a same-sex orientation.

Reactions to Employer

More significantly, these studies inform the practice of human resource management. First, results indicate that heterosexuals view companies that treat openly gay men fairly as being generally diversity-friendly, although this effect was not found

for lesbians. Since gay males are perceived as a more salient out-group than lesbians for most heterosexuals, companies' behavior vis-à-vis gays is likely to be more carefully scrutinized than is its behavior toward lesbians. Thus, it appears that affording protection to gays is seen as evidence of a company's commitment to protecting all workers from discrimination and harassment on the job.

These studies also provide confirmation that a company's commitment to diversity is an important recruiting message. Conventional wisdom has long held that a company should present images of successful employees from both genders and a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds in order to portray themselves as welcoming to a variety of potential recruits. This research confirms that these presentations make the company more attractive because they enhance recruits' perceptions of procedural justice within the organization. More specifically, it also indicates that a company's commitment to protecting gays from discrimination in the workplace is perceived similarly to policies protecting women and minorities, in that it prompts the belief that the organization is committed to treating all employees fairly. This mediating role of organizational justice perceptions was confirmed in both studies. While diversity management programs are likely perceived as desirable employment practices in themselves, the results from these studies suggest that the message these programs send about organizational fairness is the real benefit in recruiting new employees.

However, there are potentially negative side effects for organizations that publicly promote their gay-friendly policies. Although not conclusive, results from Study 2 suggest that, if given a choice, recruits with particularly high levels of heterosexism toward gays would be likely to opt out of employment with companies that are highly

supportive of gays and/or have visible gay representatives present during the recruiting process. Study 2 participants high in heterosexism toward gays rated the organization as less desirable than did those without these heterosexist attitudes in both scenarios where the gay male personal trainer was enacted, suggesting that this effect may be more pronounced when the nature of the job involves physical intimacy or contact. Results from Study 2 suggest that this effect is less robust for lesbians. Only the lesbian insurance agent interacting with a male customer prompted participants high in heterosexism toward lesbians to rate the company as less desirable than did those low in heterosexism. Of course, one limitation to this finding could be a country's general economic and employment conditions. It is likely that, when jobs are scarce, recruits are less likely to let their prejudicial attitudes stand in the way of obtaining employment.

Interestingly, Study 1's finding that individuals with a conservative religious orientation reject employment with an organization known to be friendly to lesbians and gays was not replicated in Study 2. Since one of the hallmarks of most conservative religious dogma is to "practice what is preached," many individuals with this religious orientation try to avoid public statements and commitments that are incompatible with their religious values. As noted in Chapter 1, this often reflects a desire to reaffirm believers' place within the religious in-group. Research cited in Chapter 2 hypothesized that, since joining an organization is often viewed as a public statement of agreement with that organization's values, value congruence is a particularly salient issue when recruits consider the desirability of a particular employer. Consequently, it is noteworthy that participants in Study 2 did not evidently feel that ranking a gay-friendly employer as a desirable employer was a violation of their religious in-group ties. Again, the practical

value of this finding lies in its potential for recruiters. It appears that openly endorsing the rights of gays and lesbians in the workplace may not alienate potential employees whose religious beliefs condemn homosexuality.

Similarly, participants' traditional gender role identification was not a robust predictor of how they rated the employing organization as a desirable employer. As with heterosexist attitudes, it appears that the need to disaffiliate from the organization to protect heterosexual in-group ties was most salient in those conditions wherein the gay male personal trainer was presented (interacting with both a male and female client). In this case, it appears that the added psychological threat of a physically intimate work environment was a necessary condition for intergroup distinctions to emerge. The potential message for service organizations is significant. They need only be concerned about employees' same-sex orientations in limited service contexts.

Again, the functional perspective of attitudes offered a slightly richer explanation for participants' willingness to rate the company as a desirable employer. Those whose heterosexist attitudes served an ego-defensive function rated the company as less desirable than did those whose attitudes did not serve this function in four of the eight study conditions in which a gay or lesbian service provider was portrayed. The value-expressive function was only associated with lower company ratings only in the most psychologically threatening condition: that of a gay male personal trainer interacting with a male customer. In Study 2 (the only test of this hypothesis), heterosexuals whose attitudes toward gays and lesbians protected their sense of personal identity were more likely to reject employment with a gay-friendly company than were other participants whose attitudes did not serve this function. Since people anticipate spending a great deal

of time at work, it is likely that the potential for regular interaction with a gay or lesbian colleague posed a more significant threat to personal identity than individuals whose heterosexist attitudes provide an ego-defensive purpose could tolerate.

Differences in Reactions to Lesbians and Gays/Context Effects

Do heterosexuals view lesbians and gays as distinct populations? Results from Study 2 and Study 3 indicate that the answer to this question is a resounding, “Yes.” In both studies, heterosexist attitudes toward gays were significantly more pronounced than was prejudice toward lesbians. Indeed, the inconsistency of results in Study 3 clearly indicates that heterosexuals evaluate gay men and lesbians independently, rather than expressing and acting upon generalized attitudes toward “homosexuals.”

Although these results suggest that gay men are the targets of more prejudice than are lesbians, some variation in prejudice is related to the gender of the prejudiced person. As Study 3 noted, even when women expressed more prejudice toward gay men than toward lesbians, they reported significantly stronger behavioral intentions to discriminate against lesbians than they did against gay men. This suggests that the two groups are viewed differently both in the abstract and in physical interactions. While gay men are recognized as the more stigmatized of the two groups, prejudice toward lesbians and gays appears to be more extreme when heterosexuals interact with a gay man or lesbian who shares their gender. Heterosexual women appear most likely to avoid relationships with lesbians, while heterosexual men are most likely to avoid relationships with gay men. It is likely that even some heterosexual men and women who do not hold heterosexist attitudes develop a sense of discomfort, or perhaps unwanted sexual tension, when they

think about interacting with a gay man or lesbian who could view them as a potential sex partner.

Finally, the results indicate that the context of interaction between heterosexuals and lesbians/gays does matter. Contexts that require physical touch, such as the personal trainer scenario used in Study 2, are perceived as more threatening to individuals high in heterosexism, particularly when the situation involves touch between a gay man and a heterosexual man. It appears that context intimacy is an important feature in heterosexuals' reactions to lesbians and gays—one that has been essentially ignored in past research.

Theoretical Implications

Theoretically, this study enhances our understanding of the motivational forces in stereotyping and prejudice. Most previous work was conducted with targets and participants in a laboratory, rather than in contexts with less scripted interpersonal contact. As Monteith, Sherman, and Devine (1998, p. 79) noted, “although the most important implications of stereotype activation and use are played out in judgmental and interpersonal contexts where their effects can be the most destructive, relatively little effort has been devoted to exploring the effects of stereotypes in such settings.” This research helps us understand how prejudicial attitudes function in one such interpersonal context: a service relationship. It reveals the importance of analyzing not just the content of attitudes, but their form and relative importance to the protection of personal identity.

This research also provides insight into people's self-categorization into particular in-groups. Although the presence of someone who differs on a salient characteristic has long been thought to prompt in-group/out-group identifications, this research suggests

that the process is slightly more complex than mere recognition of differences. For some heterosexuals, the presence of a gay man or lesbian is sufficient to trigger in-group identification as a heterosexual. For others, it does not. This research provides an explanation for this effect by demonstrating that the function of attitudes toward the out-group is related to the strength with which in-group members identify with the in-group and seek to protect it, and themselves, from harm. As such, it provides insight into the puzzling question of when and why social identities become salient.

The results of the second and third studies clearly indicate that accounting for the function prejudicial attitudes play in the minds of in-group members helps to accurately predict their discriminatory behavioral intentions toward out-group members. Although grounded in social identity theory, and confirming that intergroup relations are an important component of social life, these studies clearly demonstrate that mere group membership is not enough to prompt discriminatory behavior in social interactions. In this regard, the research justifies the call put forth by Eagly and Chaiken (1998) to explore the interplay between the functional perspective on attitudes and social identity theory. While in-group memberships were occasionally accurate predictors of heterosexuals' behavior toward gays and lesbians, attitude functions were a more robust predictor. This was particularly true when heterosexuals contemplated physical interactions with lesbians and gays that are potentially more psychologically threatening than reacting to "paper and pencil" (or in this case, "video and screen") people in a laboratory environment. Simply put, when attitudes function to defend a person's sense of self-esteem or protect a person from uncomfortable thoughts (the ego-defensive function), or when they are viewed as central to the values expressed by an in-group and

thus central to personal identity (the value-expressive function), they are most likely to be associated with discriminatory behavior. These attitudes are salient and important to people, and as such are actively upheld and acted upon.

Additionally, the context of interaction places interesting boundary conditions on this finding. The results from these studies, particularly Study 2, indicate that feelings of defensiveness that result in heterosexist attitudes serving the ego-defensive function are evidently exacerbated by actual contact with a gay man or lesbian, and made even more powerful when that contact is potentially intimate. Individuals whose heterosexist attitudes serve the purpose of protecting their senses of personal identity are therefore likely to act on the basis of those attitudes only when they anticipate actual contact with a gay man or a lesbian; in the absence of such contact they appear to be able to process information about a lesbian or gay man without significant prejudice. Recall that performance ratings were not strongly affected by attitude functions, whereas the prospect of establishing service relationships and/or embracing gay and lesbian co-workers prompted stronger reactions from these individuals.

This suggests that attitude functions and chronic egalitarian goals interact with one another in a competitive manner. Absent a perceived threat to personal identity, heterosexuals will strive to act in a non-prejudicial manner toward lesbians and gays. However, when the context shifts from the abstract to the concrete, defensive reactions become paramount. In this instance, protecting identity becomes more important than behaving in a non-prejudicial fashion, and heterosexist attitudes that protect heterosexuals' senses of identity security are acted upon.

Perhaps the strongest theoretical contribution of these studies is their demonstration that mere heterosexual/homosexual distinctions are insufficient to explain prejudice and discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. There are two ways in which this research provides insight into this issue. First, the studies confirm that gay men are viewed significantly more negatively than lesbians. As noted in Chapter 1, this derision of gay men is likely a result of the fact that gender role violations are perceived as more severe for men than for women, and so gay males are viewed as more socially deviant than lesbians and hence more worthy of scorn. Gay males are perceived as more threatening than lesbians, particularly in intimate service contexts.

Second, the studies confirm that gays are a more salient out-group for heterosexuals than are lesbians. Gay men were viewed as stronger representatives of a “stigmatized” group, prompting viewers to rate organizations friendly to them as more tolerant of diversity generally than organizations friendly to lesbians. Similarly, the effect of a lesbian’s self-disclosure of a same-sex orientation was much less significant and salient to heterosexuals than the same disclosure from a gay male, contradicting past research that assumed reactions to “homosexuals” were sufficient to explore heterosexuals’ attitudes toward both gay men and lesbians. These findings strongly indicate the need for each of gay men and lesbians to be studied separately. It would be helpful for future research to differentiate between gay men and lesbians more aggressively in order to call attention to the fact that their experiences, and heterosexuals’ reactions to each of them, are likely to be quite distinct.

Practical Implications

Practically, these studies suggest that gay and lesbian service providers should feel relatively comfortable coming out in the context of established service relationships, provided that they are providing high-quality service and operating in a relatively non-intimate context. This comfort level should be even higher when customers do not share the service provider's gender. Most participants, even those somewhat high in heterosexism, appeared to view their service relationships as economic, rather than personal exchanges; in few instances does it appear that customers will rate the quality of service provided more negatively when they learn that the provider is lesbian or gay. The quality of service received appears to be substantially more important to them than the characteristics of the person providing it.

Although these studies did not directly examine performance appraisal as it is typically conducted in human resource management, the studies' findings may have some implications for conducting performance appraisals in the workplace as well as related research. Human resource managers and others engaged in the practice of performance evaluation may benefit from an assessment of their own and other raters' personal identity lenses to determine how self-categorizations and the function of prejudicial attitudes affect the ability to provide unbiased evaluations to out-group members. More theoretically, researchers who examine intergroup performance evaluations in the future would likely benefit from including an analysis of the functions that raters' attitudes toward out-group members perform. This may shed light on the mixed findings in the literature indicating that some intergroup evaluations are biased and others are not.

Moreover, it may provide insight into the biases thought to plague minority workers in a variety of organizational contexts.

Finally, companies should rest assured that a public commitment to diversity enhances recruits' perceptions of the organization as a good place to work. When organizations include sexual orientation in their list of protected characteristics, they communicate the values of respect and tolerance for gay men and lesbians. In the long run, as more organizations adopt gay-friendly policies, it is likely that the communication of support for gay men and lesbians in the workplace will become commonplace. These programs send an important message to potential recruits by communicating the generally fair procedures employees face in at work. When a company goes out of its way to ensure that employees who have historically been stigmatized are provided with a positive work environment, it communicates its goal of fair treatment for all employees. This signal results in recruits' perceptions that the company is a generally desirable place to work.

Finally, the use of the term "heterosexism" is helpful. This term avoids the misnomer of "homophobia" by describing prejudice toward gays and lesbians in terms of attitudes, rather than psychic disorders. It is specific to prejudicial attitudes, and thus is more precise than the prioritizing of the heterosexual lifestyle over the homosexual one, or "heterosexist bias", which encompasses political and social beliefs in addition to prejudicial ones. As such, it is an accurate and consistent way to place the study of prejudicial attitudes toward gay men and lesbians in the same terms as the studies of racism and sexism.

CHAPTER 16

LIMITATIONS OF THE PRESENT RESEARCH AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

I begin this chapter with a discussion of the limitations of this program of research. I conclude with a discussion of the future research directions suggested by this dissertation.

Limitations

This study was conducted entirely in the context of Midwestern University communities. Future research will have to be conducted with other more diverse populations before any real conclusions about the generalizability of these results can be determined. Although the consistency of findings across studies is a strength of this dissertation, further research is necessary to determine the extent to which these findings can inform research and practice.

The preponderance of women in the population of Study 2 is a further limitation on these findings. Results were skewed in terms of reactions to both gay men and lesbians, such that the former were viewed more positively and the latter more negatively than was the case in the two earlier studies. Replication of the third study with a more gender-balanced sample would likely produce different results.

It is also noteworthy that this study, like most others that investigate attitudes toward homosexuals, imposed on respondents the view that “gay” and “lesbian”

constitutes a basic kind of person. Questions phrased in the form “Lesbians/Gay males are more likely to . . .” impose, rather than investigate, the assumption that homosexuality constitutes what Hughes (1945) called a “master status trait” in the mind of respondents. By forcing participants to consider a target’s sexual orientation as a salient characteristic, this investigation may have artificially inflated the relative importance of sexual orientation vis-à-vis other social statuses such as gender, nationality, or age. As Plasek and Allard noted in their review of similar studies, “to the extent that respondents did not believe that ‘homosexuals’ are a basic category of social identity or a ‘kind of person,’ their responses to such items will be misleading” (1984, p. 24).

This study is also problematic because it fails to recognize that gay men and lesbians choose to associate themselves with a same-sex orientation identity to varying degrees. Indeed, it is a mistake to claim that a social identity is necessarily claimed by all who fall into a defined category. As Deaux (1992, p. 20) has correctly pointed out, “the acceptance of the social categories to which one belongs is a personal option”. Still, until American society evolves to a place where sexual orientation is not a basis for identification and discrimination, the necessity of these questions to determine the strength and content of people’s prejudices toward gay men and lesbians remains a necessary evil.

This research program is also limited in that it examined heterosexuals’ reactions to lesbians and gays only in the context of personal service relationships. Although this naturally limits the generalizability of these results to other relational forms, it may also be viewed as a strength of the studies. As previously noted, service relationships are routine for most adults, as are evaluations of the service provided in this forum. Prior

research has demonstrated that evaluators with experience in a particular context use less stereotypic or group-based reasoning in their evaluations (Lindholm, Christianson & Karlsson, 1997). It is noteworthy, therefore, that the service provider's sexual orientation had such a large effect on their performance evaluations even in a context where stereotypic responses are thought to be minimized.

Additionally, the measure of conservative religious orientation used in this study may be problematic. Although the combination of religious involvement and doctrinal position on lesbians and gays into a measure of conservative religious orientation has practical and theoretical support, some church's doctrinal position on homosexuality is less than clear-cut. Presbyterians, for example, are actively debating this issue across the country, with individual churches reporting widely differing positions. Future research should consider more carefully individuals' personal adherence to the stated doctrinal position of their churches, so that individual differences on this issue can be more carefully explored.

Finally, there is a recurring problem with multicollinearity in each study. Many of the independent variables were significantly and positively correlated, suggesting that they are measuring very similar things. In particular, high correlations were noted between the ego-defensive and value-expressive attitude functions in Study 2, between the heterosexism measures in Study 3, and generally between measures of heterosexism, gender role identification, and conservative religious involvement in each of the studies. This questions both the validity of constructs used in this research and the usefulness of individual results reported for these variables. It would be very useful for future researchers to examine the relationships between these variables in more detail to shed

light on the ways in which they tap similar constructs and the ways in which they are different from one another.

Future Research Directions

First, those who study performance appraisal, both in the field and in the laboratory, should consider including direct and indirect measures of identity effects on performance ratings. If ratees' traits provoke a defensive reaction from raters trying to avoid the "identity costs" of positive appraisal, the results of research could be tainted or uninterpretable. Future work should seek to replicate studies examining a variety of intergroup evaluations (e.g., whites and blacks, disabled and non-disabled, etc.) using the lens of the functional approach to attitudes. This may allow researchers to gain more insight into the cognitive biases that prevent accuracy in the appraisal of performance.

Second, this study failed to fully consider the effect of perceived "fit" of gay men and lesbians in a particular service context. Studies of the performance evaluation of people with disabilities have revealed that people who perceive congruence between their stereotypes of the capabilities and characteristics of people with disabilities and the jobs they perform provide more positive performance evaluations than others who do not perceive a similar "fit" between the ratee and the job (Colella et al., 1997). Anecdotally, it is interesting to note that participants in Study 3 reported having gay male service providers only in a single—and quite stereotypical—context: that of a hairdresser. Future studies should investigate whether the "fit" effect holds for gay men and lesbians by addressing, for example, whether a gay male in a stereotype-consistent operation (e.g., a hairdresser) is rated more positively than one in a neutral or inconsistent occupation (e.g., insurance agent or football coach).

The role of trust also needs to be examined in this context. It may be that a service provider's stigmatizing self-disclosure actually enhances a customer's trust in that service provider because it demonstrates the provider's honesty. In service contexts that require advice-giving (such as the insurance agent scenario), trust development is crucial to a successful business relationship. Future research should examine the effect of stigmatizing self-disclosure, such as the disclosure of a same-sex orientation, on the development of trust in service relationships.

Moreover, subsequent studies should examine recruits' reactions to companies diversity management programs in more detail. Do proclaimed motives for the programs make a difference? Are recruits more attracted to companies who embrace diversity because "it is the right thing to do" than to companies whose policies are based on economic rationales? And, are programs such as domestic partner benefits that are expressly designed to benefit gay men and lesbians perceived similarly to those benefiting other groups? As more companies adopt gay-friendly policies, opportunities for this stream of research will be compounded and should be explored.

My strongest suggestion to future researchers is also the simplest: treat lesbians and gay men as separate social groups. Our understanding of sexual prejudice is impaired when we lump these two together under the label of 'homosexual.' Heterosexual men and women react very differently to each group. Lesbians and gay men are viewed as differentiated targets of stigma, and it appears that behavioral intentions toward them are also varied and complex. More research is needed to fully investigate the differences between these groups, requiring more precision in instruments

designed to measure heterosexism and more care in defining the boundary conditions of future findings.

Finally, it would be helpful to examine the strategies that service providers can use to “come out” to their customers most effectively. Previous research has demonstrated that positive contact with a gay man or lesbian is related to increased tolerance for homosexuals generally (Herek, 1994). Consequently, if gay and lesbian service providers can effectively disclose their sexual orientation in the context of a successful service relationship, and in a way that is most non-threatening to their customers, they will likely gain the opportunity to educate a vast number of people about homosexuality. This effort may be the real key to long-term goals of ending discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

CHAPTER 17

CONCLUSION

As noted in Chapter 1, the purpose of this dissertation was to address four research questions. First, why do some heterosexuals express and act upon prejudicial attitudes toward gays and lesbians, while other heterosexuals do not? Second, what effect do prejudicial attitudes have on heterosexuals' treatment of gay men and lesbians in a business environment? Third, what effect do gay and lesbian employees have on heterosexual customers' perceptions of the employing organization? And fourth, does the context in which heterosexuals encounter gay men and lesbians affect heterosexuals' reactions? The purpose of this chapter is to address this dissertation's findings in each of these areas.

Acting on Heterosexism

This study suggests that heterosexuals are more likely to act upon any heterosexist attitudes they possess if those attitudes serve an ego-defensive or value-expressive function. When heterosexist attitudes serve to protect a person's sense of personal identity, or when they are a signal of a person's alliance with a social group that he/she values, discriminatory actions toward lesbians and gays are likely to be seen. On the other hand, when heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gays are not viewed as personally and/or socially important to express, discrimination is less likely to occur.

Heterosexism in a Business Environment

Results from Studies 1 and 2 indicate that, in the cases wherein heterosexism plays a role in evaluation of a gay or lesbian service provider's performance, the effect is as likely to be positive as negative. Some heterosexual observers provided positively inflated ratings of a gay male service provider, particularly when he was shown interacting with a female customer. On the other hand, when a gay male service provider interacted with a male customer in a relatively intimate service context, performance ratings were lower. This indicates that social context and heterosexism, particularly, the function that heterosexist attitudes play in the appraiser's mind, likely affect gay men's and lesbians' performance ratings in the workplace.

However, in terms of establishing service relationships with gay men and lesbians, it appears that customers are primarily interested in the quality of the service provided, such that they will knowingly establish and/or maintain service relationships with gay men and lesbians as long as service quality is high. It does not appear that exchange relationships between heterosexuals and lesbians/gays are strongly influenced by heterosexist attitudes.

Reaction to Employing Organizations

Heterosexuals' reactions to gay men differed significantly from their reactions to lesbians in this context. When a gay man was viewed, study participants credited the employing organization with diversity-friendly policies. However, this attribution was not made when a lesbian service provider was viewed. This suggests that gay men are viewed as a more stigmatized minority group than are lesbians, and consequently, that

companies supporting gay men in the workplace are seen as more supportive of diversity generally than are those supporting lesbians.

Attributions of diversity friendliness are particularly important because they influence potential recruits' perceptions of the company as a desirable place to work. When recruits believe that a company supports diversity, they attribute generally fair work procedures to the organization. Perceptions of diversity friendliness are mediated by these perceptions of justice, ultimately causing the company to be viewed as a desirable employer.

Interaction Context

Finally, this program of studies provided insight into two areas of social context. First, heterosexist attitudes were more likely to be acted upon when heterosexuals viewed gay male and lesbian service providers interacting with a customer of their own gender. It appears that same-gender interactions are viewed as more sensitive encounters between heterosexuals and gays/lesbians than are encounters across genders. This effect was exacerbated in service contexts that involved physical touch, particularly when the service provider was a gay male and the customer was also male.

Summary

Together, these studies provide a first investigation of the role of heterosexism in service relationships. In addition to exploring this important topic in a new context, the studies further provide evidence of the importance of considering the function of heterosexist attitudes when attempting to predict heterosexuals' discriminatory behavior toward lesbians and gays. Similarly, the studies point out that lesbians and gay men are

viewed as distinct social groups by most heterosexuals, and consequently should be treated as such in subsequent research.

Future researchers will, and should, explore ways that prejudicial attitudes such as heterosexism can be reduced and eliminated from workplace encounters such that everyone can enjoy a job free from discrimination. This study, by expanding our understanding of prejudice toward lesbians and gays, is an important first step in this direction. It is promising that these results suggest a general tolerance for lesbians in the workplace, and support for organizations that provide a friendly work environment for gay men. I hope that future research will continue to explore these issues, with similarly positive indicators of progress toward the eradication of heterosexism.

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APPENDIX A

SURVEY INSTRUMENT USED IN STUDY 1

Service Evaluation Study Pre-Video Questionnaire

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. There are no right or wrong answers. Read each item and decide whether the statement pertains to you. Then use the following scale to answer the question:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. _____ I like most people I get to know.
2. _____ Most people never really acknowledge their bad points.
3. _____ I can be comfortable with all kinds of people.
4. _____ People are too self-centered.
5. _____ With many people you never know where you stand.
6. _____ You probably have to hurt someone if you're going to make something out of yourself.
7. _____ I wish people would be more honest.
8. _____ I can enjoy being with people whose values are very different from mine.
9. _____ People are quite critical of me.
10. _____ I often feel "left out", as if people don't want me around.
11. _____ People seem to respect my opinion about things.
12. _____ People generally seem to like me.
13. _____ Most people seem to understand how I feel about things.

Below are statements that reflect your attitude toward women and men. There are no "correct" answers to these questions; we are interested in learning your personal opinion about each of these issues. Please consider each question carefully and answer as honestly as possible using the same scale as above.

1. _____ Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say in family matters.
2. _____ People should not get married unless they plan to have children.
3. _____ A wife should vote the way her husband does because he probably is better informed on political issues.
4. _____ Men don't respect women who sleep with them outside of marriage.
5. _____ It goes against nature to place women in positions of authority over men.
6. _____ Women should stay home with children rather than entering a profession.
7. _____ Women should take an active interest in politics and community problems.
8. _____ The unmarried mother is morally a greater failure than the unmarried father.
9. _____ Women have as much right as men to "party" and have fun.

The statements below ask you to think about the source of your attitudes toward male/female relations. Please consider each statement and rate it using the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

My opinions about male/female relations **mainly** are based on:

1. _____ my personal experiences with them.
2. _____ what I have learned about them from the media.
3. _____ my moral or religious beliefs about how things should be.
4. _____ my belief that the Bible sets certain standards for these relationships that should be obeyed.
5. _____ my perceptions of how the people I care about feel about them.

Below are statements that reflect your attitude toward gay (homosexual) men. There are no "correct" answers to these questions; we are interested in learning your personal opinion. Please consider each question carefully and answer as honestly as possible using the same scale as above.

1. _____ The sexual practices of gay men are disgusting.
2. _____ Some men are born gay.
3. _____ I would not perform mouth-to-mouth resuscitation on a man I knew to be gay, even if it would save his life.
4. _____ Gay men are more sexually promiscuous than heterosexual ("straight") men.
5. _____ Gay men deserve to be afflicted with AIDS.
6. _____ Gay men are more feminine than heterosexual ("straight") men.
7. _____ Male homosexuality is a sin.
8. _____ Heterosexual men are less likely to contract AIDS than gay men.
9. _____ Male homosexuality is a natural form of sexual expression.
10. _____ Gay men are no more socially liberal than straight men.
11. _____ I would think I was a failure as a parent if my son were gay.
12. _____ Generally, I cannot tell if a man is gay just by his appearance and mannerisms.
13. _____ If my best male friend revealed that he was gay, it would not upset me.
14. _____ Physicians and psychologists should try to find a cure for male homosexuality.
15. _____ It would be very easy for me to have a conversation with a gay man.
16. _____ I won't associate with gay men if I can help it.
17. _____ I would be afraid for my child to have a gay male teacher.
18. _____ Gay men should be locked up to protect society.
19. _____ It would be upsetting to find out that I was alone with a gay male.
20. _____ I would not want to join an organization that has gay men in its membership.
21. _____ I have a family member who is a gay male.
22. _____ I have at least one close friend who is a gay male.
23. _____ I have had a number of positive social experiences interacting with gay males.

Below are statements that reflect your attitude toward lesbians (homosexual women). There are no "correct" answers to these questions; we are interested in learning your personal opinion. Please consider each question carefully and answer as honestly as possible using the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. _____ The sexual practices of lesbians are disgusting.
2. _____ Some women are born lesbians.
3. _____ I would not perform mouth-to-mouth resuscitation on a woman I knew to be a lesbian, even if it would save her life.
4. _____ Lesbians are more sexually promiscuous than heterosexual women.
5. _____ Female homosexuality is a natural form of sexual expression.
6. _____ Lesbians are more masculine than heterosexual ("straight") women.
7. _____ Female homosexuality is a sin.
8. _____ Generally, I cannot tell if a woman is a lesbian just by her appearance and mannerisms.
9. _____ I would think I was a failure as a parent if my daughter were a lesbian.
10. _____ If my best female friend revealed that she was a lesbian, it would not upset me.
11. _____ Physicians and psychologists should try to find a cure for female homosexuality.
12. _____ It would be very easy for me to have a conversation with a lesbian.
13. _____ I won't associate with lesbians if I can help it.
14. _____ I would be afraid for my child to have a lesbian teacher.
15. _____ Lesbians should be locked up to protect society.
16. _____ It would be upsetting to find out that I was alone with a lesbian.
17. _____ I would not want to join an organization that has lesbians in its membership.
18. _____ I have family member who is a lesbian.
19. _____ I have at least one close friend who is a lesbian.
20. _____ I have had a number of positive social experiences interacting with lesbians.

Now, please think about the source of your attitudes toward both gay men and lesbians. Read each of the following statements and indicate your agreement/disagreement with them on the same scale.

My opinions about gay men and lesbians **mainly** are based on:

1. _____ whether or not someone I care about is gay or lesbian.
2. _____ my personal experiences with specific gay or lesbian persons.
3. _____ what I have learned about homosexuality from the media.
4. _____ the fact that thinking about homosexuality makes me uncomfortable.
5. _____ my personal feelings of discomfort or revulsion at homosexuality.
6. _____ my belief that these individuals pose a danger to children and others in our society.
7. _____ my moral or religious beliefs about how things should be.
8. _____ my belief that the Bible forbids homosexuality.
9. _____ my perceptions of how the people I care about feel about homosexuality generally.

Below are statements that reflect your attitude toward people who are of a different race than you. There are no "correct" answers to these questions; we are interested in your personal opinion about each of these issues. Please consider each question carefully and answer as honestly as possible. Use the scale below:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. ___ In today's society, it is important that one not be perceived as prejudiced in any manner.
2. ___ I always express my thoughts and feelings, regardless of how controversial they might be.
3. ___ I get angry with myself when I have a thought or feeling that might be considered prejudiced.
4. ___ If I was participating in a class discussion and a person of another race expressed an opinion with which I disagreed, I would be hesitant to express my own viewpoint.
5. ___ Going through life worrying about whether you might offend someone is just more trouble than it's worth.

6. ___ It's important to me that other people not think I'm prejudiced.
7. ___ I feel it's important to behave according to society's standards.
8. ___ I'm careful not to offend my friends, but I don't worry about offending people I don't know or like.
9. ___ I think that it is important to speak one's mind rather than to worry about offending someone.
10. ___ It is never acceptable to express one's prejudices.
11. ___ I feel guilty when I have a negative thought or feeling about a person of another race.
12. ___ When speaking to someone of another race, it is important to me that he/she not thinks I'm prejudiced.
13. ___ It bothers me a great deal when I think I've offended someone, so I'm always careful to consider other people's feelings.
14. ___ I would never tell jokes that might offend others.
15. ___ Over the past few years, racial minorities have gotten more economically than they deserve.
16. ___ It is easy to understand the anger of racial minorities in America.
17. ___ Racial minorities are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
18. ___ Many racial minorities miss out on jobs or promotions because of discrimination towards them.
19. ___ It is rare for a racial minority to miss out on good housing because White property owners won't rent or sell to them.
20. ___ Racial minorities should not push themselves where they are not wanted.
21. ___ Discrimination against racial minorities is not a problem in the United States.
22. ___ I have at least one close friend who is of a different race than me.
23. ___ I have had a number of positive social experiences interacting with people of different races.

Again, please think about the source of your beliefs about people of other races. Read each statement and answer the questions using the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

My opinions about people of other races **mainly** are based on:

1. ___ whether or not someone I care about is of another race.
2. ___ my personal experience with them.
3. ___ what I have learned about them from the media.
4. ___ the fact that thinking about them makes me uncomfortable.
5. ___ my personal feelings of discomfort or revulsion at interacting with them.
6. ___ my belief that these individuals pose a danger to society.
7. ___ my moral or religious beliefs about how things should be.
8. ___ my perceptions of how the people I care about feel about them generally.

Listed below are a number of statements concerning society. There are no right or wrong answers; we are interested in learning your opinion on each of these issues. Read each item carefully and respond as honestly as you can using the scale above.

1. ___ Laws have to be strictly enforced if we are going to preserve our way of life.
2. ___ People should pay less attention to the Bible and other traditional forms of religious guidance and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.
3. ___ National anthems, flags, and glorification of one's country should all be de-emphasized to promote the brotherhood of all men.

- 4. ____ Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
- 5. ____ Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
- 6. ____ If a child starts becoming a little too unconventional, his or her parents should see to it that he/she returns to the normal ways expected by society.
- 7. ____ One good way to teach certain people right from wrong is to give them a good stiff punishment when they get out of line.
- 8. ____ Organizations like the army and the priesthood have a pretty unhealthy effect on men because they require strict obedience of commands from supervisors.

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. There are no right or wrong answers. Read each item and decide whether the statement is mostly true or mostly false as it pertains to you. Circle the appropriate letter ("T" for true, "F" for false) to indicate your response.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|--|
| 1. | T | F | Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates. |
| 2. | T | F | I am always careful about my manner of dress. |
| 3. | T | F | My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant. |
| 4. | T | F | I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake. |
| 5. | T | F | I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget. |
| 6. | T | F | I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable. |
| 7. | T | F | I always try to practice what I preach. |
| 8. | T | F | I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me. |

Listed below are a number of ways in which individuals differ from one another. Place an "X" on the line to indicate where you would place yourself between the two words. For example, if you LOVE football, you would answer the following question like this:

Football Fan X : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ Not a football fan

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | A dreamer | _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | No nonsense |
| 2. | Theoretical | _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | Practical |
| 3. | Follow imagination | _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | Follow authority |
| 4. | Seek novelty | _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | Seek routine |
| 5. | Comfortable with ambiguity | _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | Prefer things clean-cut |
| 6. | Seek new experiences | _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | Prefer familiar experiences |
| 7. | Socially liberal | _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | : _____ | Socially conservative |

The following questions are designed to tell us about the background of the people participating in this study. Please circle the responses that best describe you.

Gender: Male Female
Age: 18 or under 19-20 21-23 24-26 27-29 30-35 36-45 Over 45
Are you a U.S. Citizen? Yes No
What is your ethnicity? African-American White Hispanic Asian
American Indian Other: _____
Is English your first language? Yes No
Sexual Orientation: Heterosexual/"Straight" Homosexual/"Gay" Bisexual
Other
With what religion do you identify? None Southern Baptist Evangelical Christian
Nazarene Pentecostal Church of Christ Methodist Lutheran

Northern/Independent Baptist Catholic Orthodox Jewish Unitarian
Reformed Jewish Episcopalian Presbyterian United
Church of Christ Other: _____

Are you currently involved in a church/congregation/synagogue? Yes No
If yes, please check the statement below that best describes your level of involvement.

- _____ Attend less than one time per year.
- _____ Attend one or two times per year.
- _____ Attend every other month.
- _____ Attend one time per month.
- _____ Attend one time per week.
- _____ Attend more than one function per week.

Year in College: 1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th Higher than 5th **Current**

GPA: _____

College Major (or intended major): _____

In addition to attending school, do you usually hold a job? Yes No
If yes, how many hours do you generally work each week? _____

**Stop filling out your questionnaire
now.**

**This concludes the pre-video survey.
Please do not turn this page until
after you have seen the video.**

When everyone in your group has finished filling out the questionnaire, you will be asked to watch a videotape depicting a service provider interacting with a customer.

Please watch the videotape carefully. You should focus your attention on the service provider. You will be asked to give your opinion of the provider's performance when the video is done.

We will also ask you to recall the personal characteristics of the service provider after you have seen the video. To help you in this recall, some of the personal characteristics are listed below:

White	American	27 years old
Born in Akron, Ohio	B.A. from The Ohio State University	
5 years experience with present employer; joined company upon graduation from OSU		
Has been promoted twice since joining the organization		

**When you have finished reading this
page, please place your questionnaire
face down on your desk so the study
coordinator knows you are ready to
proceed.**

Post-Video Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions based on the videotape you have just seen.

First, circle all of the personal characteristics that describe the service provider.

African-American White Hispanic American Indian Asian
Blonde hair Brown hair Red hair Bald
Short Tall Could not tell (sitting down)
Heterosexual ("Straight") Homosexual ("Gay")
Dressed casually Dressed formally

Next, place an "X" on the line to represent how you rate the service provider on the following:

Competent _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Incompetent
Friendly _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Unfriendly
Smart _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Dumb
Knows a lot about job _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Knows nothing
about job
Cares about customer _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Doesn't care
about customer
Attractive _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Ugly
Likeable _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Not likeable
Similar to me _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Different from me
Ethical _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Unethical
Trustworthy _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Untrustworthy

Now, answer the following questions using this scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. _____ The service provider gave excellent service to the customer.
2. _____ The customer seemed pleased with the service provider's performance.
3. _____ The service provider did not seem to know much about his/her business.
4. _____ The service provider did not care about the customer's well being.
5. _____ The service provider generally gave poor service.
6. _____ If I were the customer, I would have been pleased with the service provider.
7. _____ I would want this provider to be my service provider.
8. _____ It is extremely likely that I would seek this person out to be my service provider.
9. _____ I would definitely not engage this person to be my service provider.
10. _____ If this were my service provider, I would recommend him/her to my friends.
11. _____ I do not want this person to be my service provider.

The next questions ask you to think more broadly about the service provider and the company that employs the provider. Using the same scale (below), answer the following questions as best you can based on your reactions to the video.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. _____ I would not want to work alongside this service provider.
2. _____ The company that hired this service provider is probably a great place to work.
3. _____ If it were consistent with my career interests, I would certainly pursue employment with the company that hired this service provider.
4. _____ The company that this service provider works for probably has unfair policies for hiring and recruiting people.
5. _____ The company that this service provider works for would be a good place for women and minorities to work.
6. _____ The company that this service provider works for probably treats its employees fairly.
7. _____ I would like to work for the company that this service provider works for.
8. _____ I would not work for any company that would hire and promote this service provider.
9. _____ The company that this service provider works for does not value diversity in the workplace.
10. _____ Even if it were a good career move for me, it is highly unlikely that I would seek employment with the company that this service provider works for.
11. _____ I would like to work for the company that employs this service provider.
12. _____ I would not be comfortable working for the company that the service provider works for.
13. _____ This service provider and I probably have the same basic values.
14. _____ I believe that this service provider would do what he/she says he/she will do.
15. _____ You can probably trust this service provider's word.
16. _____ I would feel comfortable self-disclosing things about myself to this service provider.
17. _____ I believe that this service provider probably cannot be trusted to do what he/she commits to do.
18. _____ I think this service provider and I think about issues in pretty much the same way.
19. _____ This service provider does not share my beliefs about the things that are most important to me.
20. _____ I would feel a need to protect myself from this person if I were to use him/her as my service provider.

APPENDIX B

SCRIPT FOR VIDEOTAPED INSURANCE AGENT/CLIENT VIGNETTE

(NOTE: A = Agent, C = Customer.)

Notes to the Actors: The key to this script is naturalness. If you need to modify the lines slightly to fit your own speaking style, that's fine. This needs to look like a conversation that the camera is eavesdropping on. You'll focus on one another (not the camera) and need to be able to say the lines as if this were an actual service encounter.

A: Hi, Chris, it's terrific to see you again!

C: Hi, good to see you too.

A: Hey, how's the car?

C: Running great! I couldn't believe how quickly they fixed the damage and got it back to me. Hey, thanks again for your help on that one. You hear all these horror stories about insurance agents who don't help you out when things go wrong, but you sure proved that one wrong. When my car was first stolen, all I wanted to do was cry. Then when the cops found it in that condition... (trails off, shaking head)

A: Yeah, that's always rough. I'm glad I was able to help get it all sorted out. Did you install that car alarm system we talked about?

C: The guy at the shop put it in when they did the repairs. My Dad knows a lot about alarm systems, but I didn't get a chance to tell him which system I chose until after I had it installed, but you know what? He said that was exactly the alarm system he'd recommend that I get! How did you hear about that system?

A: My car was broken into a couple of years ago. They didn't do the kind of damage that was done to your car, but they messed up the stereo pretty badly. That was the alarm my mechanic recommended, and since I installed it, I haven't had a problem. So, I thought I'd just pass it along. (PAUSE) So, Chris, what do we need to talk about today?

C: Well, I'm buying a house.

A: Congratulations! That's a big step. So we need to talk about homeowners' insurance, right?

C: Yeah, that's part of the reason I'm here, but there's something else I really need your advice on. You see, the house I made the offer on belongs to my grandmother. Her doctor says she needs to be in a nursing home, and she needs someone to buy the house so she can use that money to pay for her expenses there. Grandma still lives in the house my mom grew up in, and I'm buying it because we really want to keep it in the family.

A: Its great that you could buy it. Sounds like everything works out well.

C: It is neat, and I'm excited about having the house. But here's the thing: the loan officer at the bank told me that if anything were to happen to me and the mortgage wasn't paid in full, the house would automatically belong to the bank. Is that right?

A: Unfortunately, it is. Legally, the bank owns the house until you pay off the mortgage. If you don't pay the mortgage for any reason, they take the house.

C: See, I'm buying the house because my parents simply can't afford it right now. I mean, they just put three kids through college, and that's not exactly cheap. So they don't have the money in savings to make a down payment the bank will accept, and my grandmother has to move now. I have a good job and was looking to buy a house, so it all works out. Except, I want my parents to be able to have the house if something happened to me. I wondered if there was any sort of insurance policy that could pay off the mortgage if I died or something.

A: Well, you could take out a life insurance policy for the amount of the mortgage. How old are you now?

C: I'm 28.

A: And what will be the amount of your mortgage on the house?

C: After everything is added in, about \$140,000.

A: Since you're still under 30, the premiums on a policy of that size wouldn't be too high. I'll have to do some calculations to figure out exactly what the payments would be, but I think we could keep it at around \$100 a month. Would that fit into your budget?

C: Gee, I don't know. That's a little more expensive than I hoped it might be, especially on top of a mortgage payment.

A: I know, this is the last time you need extra expenses. I took out extra life insurance when I bought my house, but it wasn't an easy decision when I first looked at my budget.

C: Why did you decide to take out the extra insurance policy?

Option 1: Control/No Disclosure Condition

Option 2: Disclosure Condition

A (OPTION 1): Actually, my situation was pretty similar to yours. My parents want to sell their house and move into the one I bought when they retire. I had the chance to buy the house early, so I did, but I wanted to make sure they had enough money to pay the mortgage if anything happened to me.

C (OPTION 1): So you took out a life insurance policy and named them the beneficiary?

A: (OPTION 1): That's exactly what I did.

OR

A (OPTION 2): Well, my situation is kind of different from yours. You see, I'm gay, and my life partner and I bought the house together. We wanted to be sure either of us would have the money to keep the house if anything happened to the other one, especially since it is so hard to get courts to legally recognize homosexual partnerships.

C (OPTION 2): So you took out a life insurance policy and named HIM/HER, your partner, the beneficiary?

A (OPTION 2): That's exactly what I did, and HE/SHE also took out a similar policy naming me the beneficiary.

SCRIPT CONTINUES AS FOLLOWS IN BOTH OPTIONS:

C: Doesn't life insurance get more expensive as you get older?

A: Yes, it does, but since you only need insurance to cover the actual cost of your mortgage, you need less and less coverage each year. The amount of your mortgage gets smaller as you keep paying it off. So your premiums get a little higher as you get older, but you need less and less coverage so the total payment amount each month stays pretty much the same.

C: Hmmm. That actually sounds like it would be worth it. How soon could you get me the specifics on what it would cost?

A: If you'll give me a few minutes, I can go run some numbers and get the cost estimates to you today before you leave. Did you still want to talk about homeowners' insurance?

C: Yes, I need to do that.

A: OK, while I go get the life insurance cost estimates, you can look through this information on homeowners insurance policies. There's a questionnaire in front of the packet. If you'll answer those five quick questions, I can get you an estimate on the homeowners' policy before you leave today, too.

C: Wow, this is easier than I thought it would be! Thanks.

A: You're welcome! Here's the packet, and I'll be right back with your life insurance quote.

APPENDIX C

SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESIS TEST RESULTS

Hypothesis	Study 1 Results	Study 2 Results	Study 3 Results
1a: Heterosexuals will rate a gay or lesbian service provider as more competent than a comparably performing heterosexual service provider.	SUPPORTED for both self-disclosure and 3 rd party disclosure conditions.	SUPPORTED in 2 conditions: gay insurance agent/female customer, and gay trainer/female customer	
1b: Heterosexuals' performance ratings of a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by heterosexism, such that those high in heterosexism will provide lower performance ratings than will those low in heterosexism.	NOT SUPPORTED.	SUPPORTED for gays in 1 condition: gay trainer/male client. NOT SUPPORTED for lesbians.	
1c: Heterosexuals' performance ratings of a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by conservative religious orientation, such that those with a strong orientation will rate the provider less positively than will those with a weak orientation.	NOT SUPPORTED.	SUPPORTED in 1 condition: gay trainer/male customer.	

Table 58: Summary of Hypothesis Test Results

(Continued)

Table 58: Continued

Hypothesis	Study 1 Results	Study 2 Results	Study 3 Results
1d: Heterosexuals' performance ratings of a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by gender role identification, such that those with a strong identification will rate the provider less positively than will those with a weak orientation.	SUPPORTED only in the self-disclosure condition; not in third-party disclosure condition.	SUPPORTED in 2 conditions: lesbian trainer/male client, and lesbian trainer/female client	
1e: Heterosexuals' performance ratings of a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by the function of their heterosexist attitudes, such that those whose attitudes serve an ego-defensive or value-expressive function will rate the provider less positively than will those whose attitudes do not serve these functions.		SUPPORTED for ego-defensive in 1 condition: lesbian trainer/female client. NOT SUPPORTED for value-expressive function	
2a: Ratings of a service provider's competence will be positively associated with behavioral intentions to engage the services of that provider.	SUPPORTED	SUPPORTED	
2b: Heterosexuals' desire to engage a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by heterosexism, such that those high in heterosexism will report lower desire to engage the provider than will those low in heterosexism.	NOT SUPPORTED	SUPPORTED for gays in every condition involving a gay provider. SUPPORTED for lesbians in 2 conditions: lesbian agent/male customer, and lesbian agent/female customer.	NOT SUPPORTED for gays. SUPPORTED for lesbians

(Continued)

Table 58: Continued

Hypothesis	Study 1 Results	Study 2 Results	Study 3 Results
2c: Heterosexuals' desire to engage a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by conservative religious orientation, such that those with a strong orientation will report lower desire to engage the provider than will those with a weak orientation.	NOT SUPPORTED	SUPPORTED in 1 condition: lesbian agent/female customer	NOT SUPPORTED for gays SUPPORTED for lesbians; second-highest religious orientation group was least likely to engage a lesbian service provider
2d: Heterosexuals' desire to engage a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by gender role identification, such that those with a strong orientation will report lower desire to engage the provider than will those with a weak orientation.	NOT SUPPORTED	SUPPORTED in 4 conditions: lesbian agent/male customer, lesbian agent/female customer, gay trainer/male customer, and gay trainer/female customer	NOT SUPPORTED for gays. SUPPORTED for lesbians
2e: Heterosexuals' desire to engage a gay or lesbian service provider will be moderated by the function of their heterosexist attitudes, such that those whose attitudes serve an ego-defensive or value-expressive function will report lower desire to engage the provider than will those whose attitudes do not serve these functions.		SUPPORTED for ego-defensive function in 6 conditions: gay agent/male customer, lesbian agent/male customer, lesbian agent/female customer, gay trainer/male customer, gay trainer/female customer, and lesbian trainer/female customer. SUPPORTED for value-expressive function in 2 conditions: lesbian agent/female customer, gay trainer/male customer	NOT SUPPORTED for defensive function for gays SUPPORTED for ego-defensive function for lesbians NOT SUPPORTED for value-expressive function for gay providers SUPPORTED for value-expressive function for lesbian providers

(Continued)

Table 58: Continued

Hypothesis	Study 1 Results	Study 2 Results	Study 3 Results
3a: The perception that a company is committed to diversity will be positively associated with that organization's employment of gays and lesbians.	SUPPORTED only in self-disclosure condition, not in 3 rd party disclosure condition	SUPPORTED for gays in all conditions SUPPORTED for lesbians in 1 condition: lesbian agent/female customer	
3b: The perception that a company has fair procedures will be positively associated with that organization's employment of gays and lesbians.	SUPPORTED	SUPPORTED	
3c: The perception that a company has fair procedures will be positively associated with perceptions of that company as a desirable employer.	SUPPORTED	SUPPORTED	
3d: Perceptions of procedural justice mediate the relationship between the perception of a company as diversity friendly and the perception of that company as a desirable employer.	SUPPORTED	SUPPORTED	
3e: Heterosexuals' perceptions of the desirability of joining a company employing a gay or lesbian representative will be moderated by heterosexism, such that those high in heterosexism will rate the company as less desirable than will those low in heterosexism.	NOT SUPPORTED	SUPPORTED for gays in 2 conditions: gay trainer/male customer, and gay trainer/female customer SUPPORTED for lesbians in 1 condition: lesbian agent/male customer	

(Continued)

Table 58: Continued

Hypothesis	Study 1 Results	Study 2 Results	Study 3 Results
<p>3f: Heterosexuals' perceptions of the desirability of joining a company employing a gay or lesbian representative will be moderated by conservative religious orientation, such that those with a strong orientation will rate the company as less desirable than will those with a weak orientation.</p>	<p>SUPPORTED in both self-disclosure and 3rd party disclosure conditions; as religious orientation increased, company desirability decreased.</p>	<p>NOT SUPPORTED</p>	
<p>3g: Heterosexuals' perceptions of the desirability of joining a company employing a gay or lesbian representative will be moderated by gender role identification, such that those with a strong identification will rate the company as less desirable than will those with a weak identification.</p>	<p>NOT SUPPORTED</p>	<p>SUPPORTED in 2 conditions: gay trainer/male customer, and gay trainer/female customer</p>	
<p>3h: Heterosexuals' perceptions of the desirability of joining a company employing a gay or lesbian representative will be moderated by the function of their heterosexist attitudes, such that those whose attitudes serve an ego-defensive or value-expressive function will rate the company as less desirable than will those whose attitudes do not serve these functions.</p>		<p>SUPPORTED for ego-defensive function in 4 conditions: lesbian agent/male customer, gay trainer/male customer, gay trainer/female customer, and lesbian trainer/female customer</p>	
<p>4: Heterosexuals will report stronger heterosexist attitudes toward gay men than they will toward lesbians.</p>		<p>SUPPORTED</p>	<p>SUPPORTED</p>

(Continued)

Table 58: Continued

Hypothesis	Study 1 Results	Study 2 Results	Study 3 Results
<p>5: Heterosexuals will be more likely to desire service relationships with homosexual provider of a different gender, such that heterosexual men will prefer relationships with lesbians and heterosexual women will prefer relationships with gays.</p>		<p>SUPPORTED for men in 3 conditions: gay agent/female customer, gay trainer/male customer, and gay trainer/female customer.</p> <p>NOT SUPPORTED for women</p>	<p>NOT SUPPORTED for men</p> <p>NOT SUPPORTED for women</p>
<p>6: Heterosexuals will be more likely to desire service relationships with gay or lesbian service providers in non-intimate contexts, and less likely to desire such relationships in intimate contexts.</p>		<p>SUPPORTED only when gay male interacted with male customer</p>	<p>NOT SUPPORTED for gays</p> <p>NOT SUPPORTED for lesbians</p>

APPENDIX D

SURVEY INSTRUMENT USED IN STUDY 2

Service Evaluation Study Pre-Video Questionnaire

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. There are no right or wrong answers. Read each item and decide whether the statement pertains to you. Then use the following scale to answer the question:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. _____ I like most people I get to know.
2. _____ Most people never really acknowledge their bad points.
3. _____ I can be comfortable with all kinds of people.
4. _____ People are too self-centered.
5. _____ With many people you never know where you stand.
6. _____ You probably have to hurt someone if you're going to make something out of yourself.
7. _____ I wish people would be more honest.
8. _____ I can enjoy being with people whose values are very different from mine.
9. _____ People are quite critical of me.
10. _____ I often feel "left out", as if people don't want me around.
11. _____ People seem to respect my opinion about things.
12. _____ People generally seem to like me.
13. _____ Most people seem to understand how I feel about things.

Below are statements that reflect your attitude toward women and men. There are no "correct" answers to these questions; we are interested in learning your personal opinion about each of these issues. Please consider each question carefully and answer as honestly as possible using the same scale as above.

1. _____ Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say in family matters.
2. _____ People should not get married unless they plan to have children.
3. _____ A wife should vote the way her husband does because he probably is better informed on political issues.
4. _____ Men don't respect women who sleep with them outside of marriage.
5. _____ It goes against nature to place women in positions of authority over men.
6. _____ Women should stay home with children rather than entering a profession.
7. _____ Women should take an active interest in politics and community problems.
8. _____ The unmarried mother is morally a greater failure than the unmarried father.
9. _____ Women have as much right as men to "party" and have fun.

The statements below ask you to think about the source of your attitudes toward male/female relations. Please consider each statement and rate it using the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

My opinions about male/female relations **mainly** are based on:

1. _____ my personal experiences with them.
2. _____ what I have learned about them from the media.
3. _____ my moral or religious beliefs about how things should be.
4. _____ my belief that the Bible sets certain standards for these relationships that should be obeyed.
5. _____ my perceptions of how the people I care about feel about them.

Below are statements that reflect your attitude toward gay (homosexual) men. There are no "correct" answers to these questions; we are interested in learning your personal opinion. Please consider each question carefully and answer as honestly as possible using the same scale as above.

1. _____ The sexual practices of gay men are disgusting.
2. _____ Some men are born gay.
3. _____ I would not perform mouth-to-mouth resuscitation on a man I knew to be gay, even if it would save his life.
4. _____ Gay men are more sexually promiscuous than heterosexual ("straight") men.
5. _____ Gay men deserve to be afflicted with AIDS.
6. _____ Gay men are more feminine than heterosexual ("straight") men.
7. _____ Male homosexuality is a sin.
8. _____ Heterosexual men are less likely to contract AIDS than gay men.
9. _____ Male homosexuality is a natural form of sexual expression.
10. _____ Gay men are no more socially liberal than straight men.
11. _____ I would think I was a failure as a parent if my son were gay.
12. _____ Generally, I cannot tell if a man is gay just by his appearance and mannerisms.
13. _____ If my best male friend revealed that he was gay, it would not upset me.
14. _____ Physicians and psychologists should try to find a cure for male homosexuality.
15. _____ It would be very easy for me to have a conversation with a gay man.
16. _____ I won't associate with gay men if I can help it.
17. _____ I would be afraid for my child to have a gay male teacher.
18. _____ Gay men should be locked up to protect society.
19. _____ It would be upsetting to find out that I was alone with a gay male.
20. _____ I would not want to join an organization that has gay men in its membership.
21. _____ I have a family member who is a gay male.
22. _____ I have at least one close friend who is a gay male.
23. _____ I have had a number of positive social experiences interacting with gay males.

Below are statements that reflect your attitude toward lesbians (homosexual women). There are no "correct" answers to these questions; we are interested in learning your personal opinion. Please consider each question carefully and answer as honestly as possible using the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. _____ The sexual practices of lesbians are disgusting.
2. _____ Some women are born lesbians.
3. _____ I would not perform mouth-to-mouth resuscitation on a woman I knew to be a lesbian, even if it would save her life.
4. _____ Lesbians are more sexually promiscuous than heterosexual women.
5. _____ Female homosexuality is a natural form of sexual expression.
6. _____ Lesbians are more masculine than heterosexual ("straight") women.
7. _____ Female homosexuality is a sin.
8. _____ Generally, I cannot tell if a woman is a lesbian just by her appearance and mannerisms.
9. _____ I would think I was a failure as a parent if my daughter were a lesbian.
10. _____ If my best female friend revealed that she was a lesbian, it would not upset me.
11. _____ Physicians and psychologists should try to find a cure for female homosexuality.
12. _____ It would be very easy for me to have a conversation with a lesbian.
13. _____ I won't associate with lesbians if I can help it.
14. _____ I would be afraid for my child to have a lesbian teacher.
15. _____ Lesbians should be locked up to protect society.
16. _____ It would be upsetting to find out that I was alone with a lesbian.
17. _____ I would not want to join an organization that has lesbians in its membership.
18. _____ I have family member who is a lesbian.
19. _____ I have at least one close friend who is a lesbian.
20. _____ I have had a number of positive social experiences interacting with lesbians.

Now, please think about the source of your attitudes toward both gay men and lesbians. Read each of the following statements and indicate your agreement/disagreement with them on the same scale.

My opinions about gay men and lesbians **mainly** are based on:

1. _____ whether or not someone I care about is gay or lesbian.
2. _____ my personal experiences with specific gay or lesbian persons.
3. _____ what I have learned about homosexuality from the media.
4. _____ the fact that thinking about homosexuality makes me uncomfortable.
5. _____ my personal feelings of discomfort or revulsion at homosexuality.
6. _____ my belief that these individuals pose a danger to children and others in our society.
7. _____ my moral or religious beliefs about how things should be.
8. _____ my belief that the Bible forbids homosexuality.
9. _____ my perceptions of how the people I care about feel about homosexuality generally.

Below are statements that reflect your attitude toward people who are of a different race than you. There are no "correct" answers to these questions; we are interested in your personal opinion about each of these issues. Please consider each question carefully and answer as honestly as possible. Use the scale below:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. ___ In today's society, it is important that one not be perceived as prejudiced in any manner.
2. ___ I always express my thoughts and feelings, regardless of how controversial they might be.
3. ___ I get angry with myself when I have a thought or feeling that might be considered prejudiced.
4. ___ If I was participating in a class discussion and a person of another race expressed an opinion with which I disagreed, I would be hesitant to express my own viewpoint.
5. ___ Going through life worrying about whether you might offend someone is just more trouble

- than it's worth.
6. ___ It's important to me that other people not think I'm prejudiced.
 7. ___ I feel it's important to behave according to society's standards.
 8. ___ I'm careful not to offend my friends, but I don't worry about offending people I don't know or like.
 9. ___ I think that it is important to speak one's mind rather than to worry about offending someone.
 10. ___ It is never acceptable to express one's prejudices.
 11. ___ I feel guilty when I have a negative thought or feeling about a person of another race.
 12. ___ When speaking to someone of another race, it is important to me that he/she not thinks I'm prejudiced.
 13. ___ It bothers me a great deal when I think I've offended someone, so I'm always careful to consider other people's feelings.
 14. ___ I would never tell jokes that might offend others.
 15. ___ Over the past few years, racial minorities have gotten more economically than they deserve.
 16. ___ It is easy to understand the anger of racial minorities in America.
 17. ___ Racial minorities are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
 18. ___ Many racial minorities miss out on jobs or promotions because of discrimination towards them.
 19. ___ It is rare for a racial minority to miss out on good housing because White property owners won't rent or sell to them.
 20. ___ Racial minorities should not push themselves where they are not wanted.
 21. ___ Discrimination against racial minorities is not a problem in the United States.
 22. ___ I have at least one close friend who is of a different race than me.
 23. ___ I have had a number of positive social experiences interacting with people of different races.

Again, please think about the source of your beliefs about people of other races. Read each statement and answer the questions using the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

My opinions about people of other races **mainly** are based on:

1. ___ whether or not someone I care about is of another race.
2. ___ my personal experience with them.
3. ___ what I have learned about them from the media.
4. ___ the fact that thinking about them makes me uncomfortable.
5. ___ my personal feelings of discomfort or revulsion at interacting with them.
6. ___ my belief that these individuals pose a danger to society.
7. ___ my moral or religious beliefs about how things should be.
8. ___ my perceptions of how the people I care about feel about them generally.

Listed below are a number of statements concerning society. There are no right or wrong answers; we are interested in learning your opinion on each of these issues. Read each item carefully and respond as honestly as you can using the scale above.

1. ___ Laws have to be strictly enforced if we are going to preserve our way of life.
2. ___ People should pay less attention to the Bible and other traditional forms of religious guidance and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.
3. ___ National anthems, flags, and glorification of one's country should all be de-emphasized

- to promote the brotherhood of all men.
4. _____ Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
 5. _____ Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
 6. _____ If a child starts becoming a little too unconventional, his or her parents should see to it that he/she returns to the normal ways expected by society.
 7. _____ One good way to teach certain people right from wrong is to give them a good stiff punishment when they get out of line.
 8. _____ Organizations like the army and the priesthood have a pretty unhealthy effect on men because they require strict obedience of commands from supervisors.

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. There are no right or wrong answers. Read each item and decide whether the statement is mostly true or mostly false as it pertains to you. Circle the appropriate letter ("T" for true, "F" for false) to indicate your response.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|--|
| 1. | T | F | Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates. |
| 2. | T | F | I am always careful about my manner of dress. |
| 3. | T | F | My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant. |
| 4. | T | F | I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake. |
| 5. | T | F | I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget. |
| 6. | T | F | I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable. |
| 7. | T | F | I always try to practice what I preach. |
| 8. | T | F | I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me. |

Listed below are a number of ways in which individuals differ from one another. Place an "X" on the line to indicate where you would place yourself between the two words. For example, if you LOVE football, you would answer the following question like this:

Football Fan X : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Not a football fan

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | A dreamer | _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ | No nonsense |
| 2. | Theoretical | _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ | Practical |
| 3. | Follow imagination | _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ | Follow authority |
| 4. | Seek novelty | _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ | Seek routine |
| 5. | Comfortable with ambiguity | _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ | Prefer things clean-cut |
| 6. | Seek new experiences | _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ | Prefer familiar experiences |
| 7. | Socially liberal | _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ | Socially conservative |

The following questions are designed to tell us about the background of the people participating in this study. Please circle the responses that best describe you.

Gender:	Male	Female							
Age:	18 or under	19-20	21-23	24-26	27-29	30-35	36-45	Over 45	
Are you a U.S. Citizen?	Yes	No							
What is your ethnicity?	African-American	White	Hispanic	Asian					
	American Indian	Other: _____							
Is English your first language?	Yes	No							
Sexual Orientation:	Heterosexual/"Straight"	Homosexual/"Gay"	Bisexual						
	Other								
With what religion do you identify?	None	Southern Baptist	Evangelical Christian						
	Nazarene	Pentecostal	Church of Christ	Methodist	Lutheran				

Northern/Independent Baptist Catholic Orthodox Jewish Unitarian
Reformed Jewish Episcopalian Presbyterian United
Church of Christ Other: _____

Are you currently involved in a church/congregation/synagogue? Yes No
If yes, please check the statement below that best describes your level of involvement.

- _____ Attend less than one time per year.
- _____ Attend one or two times per year.
- _____ Attend every other month.
- _____ Attend one time per month.
- _____ Attend one time per week.
- _____ Attend more than one function per week.

Year in College: 1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th Higher than 5th **Current**

GPA: _____

College Major (or intended major): _____

In addition to attending school, do you usually hold a job? Yes No
If yes, how many hours do you generally work each week? _____

**Stop filling out your questionnaire
now.**

**This concludes the pre-video survey.
Please do not turn this page until
after you have seen the video.**

When everyone in your group has finished filling out the questionnaire, you will be asked to watch a videotape depicting a service provider interacting with a customer.

Please watch the videotape carefully. You should focus your attention on the service provider. You will be asked to give your opinion of the provider's performance when the video is done.

We will also ask you to recall the personal characteristics of the service provider after you have seen the video. To help you in this recall, some of the personal characteristics are listed below:

White	American	27 years old
Born in Akron, Ohio	B.A. from The Ohio State University	
5 years experience with present employer; joined company upon graduation from OSU		
Has been promoted twice since joining the organization		

**When you have finished reading this
page, please place your questionnaire
face down on your desk so the study
coordinator knows you are ready to
proceed.**

Post-Video Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions based on the videotape you have just seen. First, circle all of the personal characteristics that describe the service provider.

African-American White Hispanic American Indian Asian
 Blonde hair Brown hair Red hair Bald
 Short Tall Could not tell (sitting down)
 Heterosexual ("Straight") Homosexual ("Gay")
 Dressed casually Dressed formally

Next, place an "X" on the line to represent how you rate the service provider on the following:

Competent _____	Incompetent _____
Friendly _____	Unfriendly _____
Smart _____	Dumb _____
Knows a lot about job _____	Knows nothing about job _____
Cares about customer _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____	
Doesn't care about customer _____	
Attractive _____	Ugly _____
Likeable _____	Not likeable _____
Similar to me _____	Different from me _____
Ethical _____	Unethical _____
Trustworthy _____	Untrustworthy _____

Now, answer the following questions using this scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. _____ The service provider gave excellent service to the customer.
2. _____ The customer seemed pleased with the service provider's performance.
3. _____ The service provider did not seem to know much about his/her business.
4. _____ The service provider did not care about the customer's well being.
5. _____ The service provider generally gave poor service.
6. _____ If I were the customer, I would have been pleased with the service provider.
7. _____ I would want this provider to be my service provider.
8. _____ It is extremely likely that I would seek this person out to be my service provider.
9. _____ I would definitely not engage this person to be my service provider.
10. _____ If this were my service provider, I would recommend him/her to my friends.
11. _____ I do not want this person to be my service provider.

The next questions ask you to think more broadly about the service provider and the company that employs the provider. Using the same scale (below), answer the following questions as best you can based on your reactions to the video.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. _____ I would not want to work alongside this service provider.
2. _____ The company that hired this service provider is probably a great place to work.
3. _____ If it were consistent with my career interests, I would certainly pursue employment with the company that hired this service provider.
4. _____ The company that this service provider works for probably has unfair policies for hiring

- and recruiting people.
5. _____ The company that this service provider works for would be a good place for women and minorities to work.
 6. _____ The company that this service provider works for probably treats its employees fairly.
 7. _____ I would like to work for the company that this service provider works for.
 8. _____ I would not work for any company that would hire and promote this service provider.
 9. _____ The company that this service provider works for does not value diversity in the workplace.
 10. _____ Even if it were a good career move for me, it is highly unlikely that I would seek employment with the company that this service provider works for.
 11. _____ I would like to work for the company that employs this service provider.
 12. _____ I would not be comfortable working for the company that the service provider works for.
 13. _____ This service provider and I probably have the same basic values.
 14. _____ I believe that this service provider would do what he/she says he/she will do.
 15. _____ You can probably trust this service provider's word.
 16. _____ I would feel comfortable self-disclosing things about myself to this service provider.
 17. _____ I believe that this service provider probably cannot be trusted to do what he/she commits to do.
 18. _____ I think this service provider and I think about issues in pretty much the same way.
 19. _____ This service provider does not share my beliefs about the things that are most important to me.
 20. _____ I would feel a need to protect myself from this person if I were to use him/her as my service provider.

APPENDIX E

SCRIPT FOR VIDEOTAPED PERSONAL TRAINER/CLIENT VIGNETTE

(NOTE: T = Trainer, C = Customer)

T: Hey, Chris that was a great workout! You're making terrific progress.

C: Thanks. I felt pretty good about today's workout, too. You're not making it easy on me, but I can see a lot of progress since I started training with you. I'm also glad you helped me figure out how to position my arms on those bicep curls. Once you held my shoulders back, I could really feel the difference in the exercise. You know, I felt less pulling on my back muscles, too. I'll remember that one!

T: Glad it worked. Hey, have you had any problems with your lower back in the past couple of weeks?

C: Actually, it feels really good. I've been doing those back exercises you showed me every morning, and I can really feel the difference. I can't believe how quickly they seem to have helped. I haven't even felt a twinge! How did you learn about those exercises?

T: Well, I have back problems of my own, and I actually had surgery and then went through a lot of physical therapy a couple of years ago. The exercises I showed you are the ones the physical therapist taught me, and I've always found that they work really well. So I'm glad you're finding them helpful. Hey, you know, we're at the end of your training contract now, and we should talk about whether or not you want to sign up for more sessions. Have you thought about that at all?

C: Yeah, I have. I mean, training sessions are really expensive, so it's a big decision. But I have a couple of questions I wanted to run by you. Is this a good time to do that?

T: Sure. I have a few minutes now. What's on your mind?

C: Well, I've been thinking that I'd like to start working out with a specific goal. You may think I'm nuts, but I'd like to get in shape to compete in a triathlon. Do you think that's absolutely crazy?

T: I'm sure you could do that. I mean, it's a big training commitment, but I've seen how hard you work and I think you do a triathlon if you wanted to. So it sounds like we need to talk about a training plan for you, right?

C: Yeah that's part of what I wanted to talk to you about. I'm sure that I want to buy at least a few more training sessions so that you can set me up with a good routine. I'm just not sure how many sessions I ought to sign up for.

T: There are lots of options for training packages, but before I recommend one I'd like to know a little bit about your goals. How soon would you want to be ready to actually complete a full triathlon?

C: I'm planning a trip to Hawaii next Spring, and there's going to be a triathlon while I'm there that I'd like to compete in. I've made a lot of progress so far, but I was afraid that next April might be too soon to do a triathlon. What do you think?

T: You had yourself checked out with a doctor before you started working with me, so we know you're in good enough physical condition for this to be a realistic goal. The only thing that concerns me at all is your back. Is there any way you can get someone to check it out more carefully and take some x-rays? See a lot of the training for a triathlon is pretty routine, and I wouldn't want you to spend a lot of money to have me work out with you if most of what you're doing is straightforward. But I also don't want to suggest any kind of exercise that could possibly hurt you, especially if I wouldn't be around for most of the workouts to make sure everything was OK. There's also a lot of running involved in triathlon training, so I'd want to know for sure that your back could handle that.

C: Actually, I saw my doctor a couple of days ago. He said that since I was doing so well with the stretches and exercises you taught me, I should be able to run more without any problem and keep doing the kinds of things we've been working on as well. So it sounds like as long as I keep up the back exercises, I'm OK.

T: Great! Then it sounds like what I need to do is work on a training schedule for you. When we get together next time, we can go through each part of triathlon training - running, swimming, and bicycling - and make sure you've got exercises to prepare you for each one. But didn't you say there was something besides the actual training plan that you wanted to talk about?

C: Yeah, there is. See I'm really motivated to do this triathlon, but I also know myself pretty well. Part of the reason I'm working out a lot now, and seeing results, is that I have this commitment to scheduled workouts with you. Since I'm paying for the sessions, I'm motivated to get to the gym and work. But I'm afraid that if I don't have that kind of formal commitment, I won't have the same motivation. Do you know what I mean?

T: I sure do; that's one of the main reasons that people like to work out with personal trainers. But with the triathlon goal you've set for yourself, you'd be talking about a lot of workouts, which means you'd be paying me an awful lot of money if you wanted to be around for each one. Of course I'll let you pay me as much money as you want to (grin), but I also don't want you to pay more than you really need to for training.

C: I know, and as much as I appreciate your help, I really can't afford to spend much more on training than I already am.

T: Then it sounds like you need another workout partner. Is there anyone else you can think of who might work out with you? Sometimes the buddy system works pretty well, if you have a motivated friend.

C: Well, I thought about working out with my GIRLFRIEND/BOYFRIEND (opposite gender to actor), but I've heard that it's hard for men and women to actually work out together, because they can have such different physical strength. Also, I haven't been seeing this person for very long, and I don't really know what working out together would do to the relationship. What do you think...have you ever tried to work out with someone you were dating? What happened?

OPTION 1: Control/No Disclosure Condition

T: Well, my current situation sounds pretty similar to yours. My BOYFRIEND/GIRLFRIEND (use opposite gender to actor) and I have done a few workouts together, but the relationship is still really new. There have been a few awkward moments when the gender differences get in the way. I find that I don't do as complete a workout when HE/SHE is around because I'm compromising. I try to do what HE/SHE can do rather than focusing on myself. You know what I mean?

OPTION 2: Disclosure Condition

T: Well, my current situation is a little different than yours. See, I'm gay, and my BOYFRIEND/GIRLFRIEND (use same gender to the actor) and I are actually pretty similar physically. So we can do the same workout, which makes it a lot simpler for us to go to the gym together. But our relationship is still pretty new, too, so I really don't know if exercising together is going to work long-term. Sometimes it's tough to have a workout partner and a relationship partner in the same person. You know what I mean?

SCRIPT CONTINUES AS BELOW IN BOTH SCENARIOS

C: Yeah, I do know. Relationships are complicated enough without throwing workout pressures into them.

T: Is there anyone else you might feel more comfortable working out with? Maybe there's someone you know who just swims or runs, and could do part of the workout with you?

C: You know, my cousin is a long-distance runner. I might be able to do the running part of the workout with HIM/HER (use same sex).

T: That's a good idea! If you could find other folks that would swim, bike, and do weight training with you, then you'd be committing time to three people instead of one. That might get complicated to schedule, but it would certainly keep you motivated. I could work with you some of the time, and then you'd have other people around as well.

C: You're right. I want to keep working with you, particularly on the weight training, but I'll look around for other people to do the other stuff with. I think that's a good idea.

T: How about this: I'll spend some time this weekend putting together a training schedule for you, and you look around for workout partners. When we get together for our regular session next week, you'll know more about the kind of workout schedule you'll have and who might be able to help you with it. Then we'll have a better idea of how much help you'll really need from me. Would that work?

C: Yeah that sounds perfect. Thanks for taking the time to talk this out with me. As usual, you've been really helpful.

T: No problem! I'll put some thought into your goal and come up with a schedule to show you next week. I'll see you then.